HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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A Time to Bear Witness

The 'Silent Majority' Must Speak Out

By JAMES JACKSON KILPATRICK

In a towering work that will be read and remembered long after more publicized books of this century are forgotten, Whittaker Chambers wrote of what it means to bear witness:

"A man is not primarily a witness *against* something. That is only incidental to the fact that he is a witness *for* something. A witness, in the sense that I am using the word, is a man whose life and faith are so completely one that when the challenge comes to step out and testify for his faith, he does so, disregarding all risks, accepting all consequences."

In the light of the President's speech on November 3, and more especially in anticipation of coming events, I suggest that it is time for Mr. Nixon's "silent majority" to meet the challenge; it is time to bear witness.

To be sure, public policies ought not to be decided by public demonstrations—the greatest prize to the largest mob. No greater folly could be conceived than to determine truth by counting noses. I am not proposing, as to Viet Nam, a national shouting contest between those who cry "stay" and those who cry "go."

But a challenge has been growing for the past several years, not merely as to Viet Nam, but in other areas of American commitment. Who is to bear witness to our country? Where does the weight of testimony lie?

Will we be judged this week solely by the masses turned out by the New Mobilization Committee? Are we to be guided by those twisted theologians who preach the "immorality" of Viet Nam, and then demand that thousands of South Vietnamese be sacrificed to a bloodbath? Is the measure of our national will to be found in the soft counsels of appeasement, withdrawal and surrender?

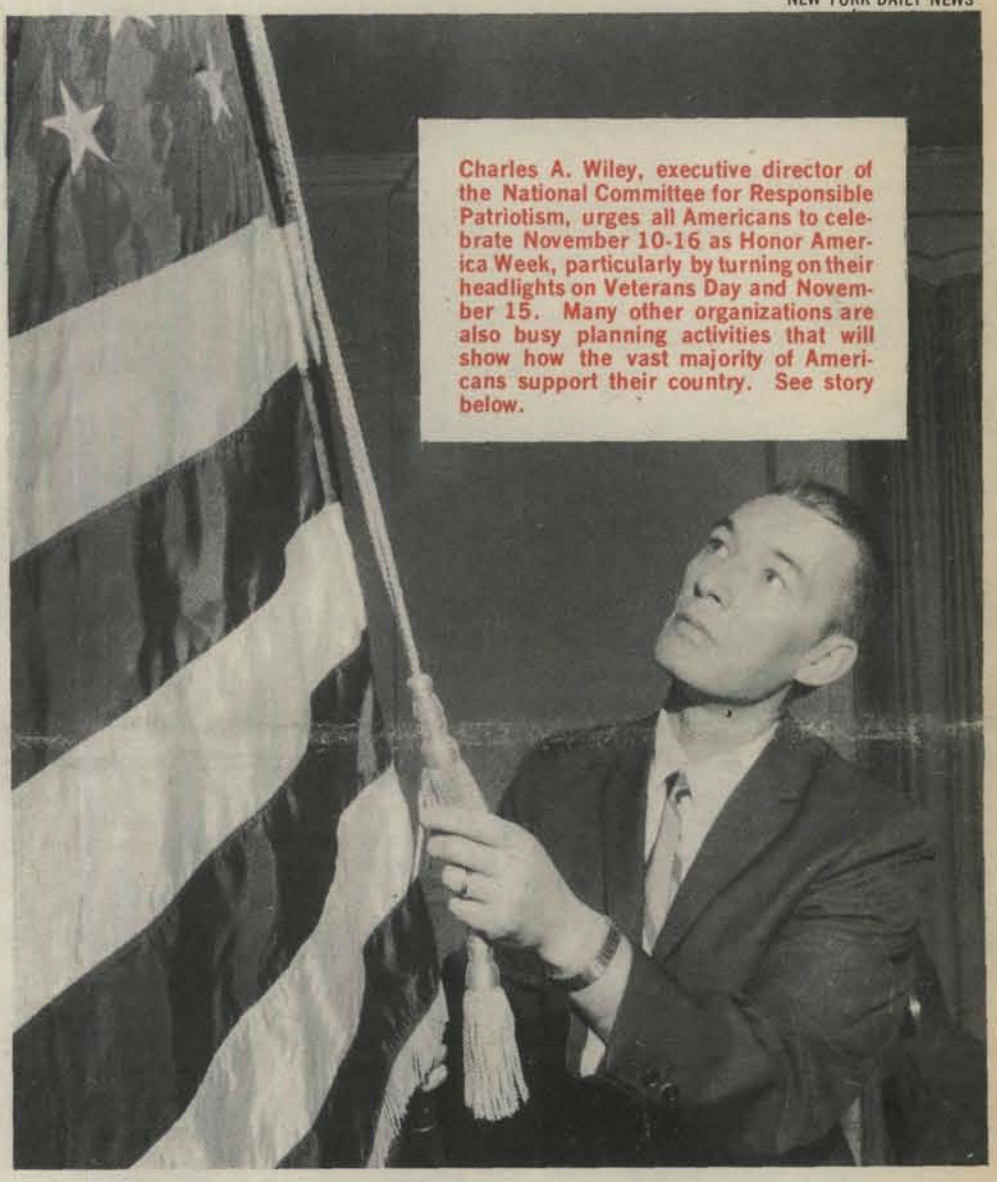
What of our universities? The dedicated labor of generations went into building their greatness, at Harvard, Columbia, Berkeley, Cornell, M.I.T. They flourished as centers of learning primarily because they retained a balance, as the universities of Europe and South America did not—a balance between liberty and order. Freedom and discipline walked as handmaidens in the groves of our academies. This was the ideal. Who now bears witness to it?

A few days ago a band of student militants marched at M.I.T., demanding, if you please, under threat of violence, that *their* notions of permissible research be imposed upon the institution as a whole. Harvard's reputation for academic integrity has been irreparably compromised. Berkeley appears to have attained a state of perpetual chaos. True learning disintegrates; and the lamppost displaces the lectern.

Why have the silent ones kept silent? A part of the explanation lies, I think, in aspects of the American character that seldom are noted. We are not, as a people, much given to barroom brawls. We are restrained by manners, custom, courtesy, good taste. Publicly, at least, we shun the passionate involvement. We will be couth at any cost; a black extortionist interrupts a meeting of bankers, and the bankers, rising, applaud.

A part of the explanation lies also in a lack of leadership. The "New Mobe" has leaders aplenty; the militants of M.I.T. have a placard to rally around. But the silent ones—the serious students, the dismayed professors, the inarticulate millions who support the President in his reasoned effort to obtain a not intolerable end to the war—these witnesses have no effective forum. They are not accustomed to exposing their convictions, like armbands, on their sleeves.

NEW YORK DAILY NEWS



Charles A. Wiley, executive director of the National Committee for Responsible Patriotism, urges all Americans to celebrate November 10-16 as Honor America Week, particularly by turning on their headlights on Veterans Day and November 15. Many other organizations are also busy planning activities that will show how the vast majority of Americans support their country. See story below.

Veterans Day offers an opportunity, in a critical hour, for a man to "step out and testify for his faith." By letters to the President, by public meetings, by so simple an act as the massive flying of our flag, witness can be given. The silent Americans have been silent too long. They must speak; and they will be heard.

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Many Activities Planned

As James J. Kilpatrick says in his article, it is time that members of the "Silent Majority" make themselves heard—both in support of America and in opposition to the extremist policies of the anti-Viet Nam radicals. Tens of thousands of Americans—by their telegrams and letters—have already let President Nixon know they back his stand against precipitate withdrawal from Viet Nam. Those who have not yet done so are urged to write or wire the White House immediately. The greater the outpouring of sympathetic messages to the President the smaller the impact the radical-supported November 13-15 activities will have.

This week also will provide patriotic Americans with many other opportunities to show their support for their country.

• In the District of Columbia there will be a Veterans' Day Freedom Rally at the Washington Monument at 2 p.m. Among the speakers will be Senator John G. Tower and Representatives John Buchanan, Jack Marsh and Donald E. "Buz" Lukens.

• With Bob Hope as honorary chairman, the National Unity Week Committee is urging all Americans to put on a nationwide display of patriotism and reverence for the Constitution during the period November 10-16. Suggested activities include wearing red, white and blue armbands, turning auto headlights on during the day and displaying bumper stickers and posters showing the flag. Interested citizens can call the Washington, D.C., headquarters of the committee (A/C 202 293-7535) to find out more about what is being planned and what they can do in their home communities.

• The chief of the National Guard Bureau, Major General Winston P. Wilson, has asked the nation's 50,000 guardsmen to participate in what amounts to a counterdemonstration against the war protesters' activities. He urges that guardsmen this week, particularly on November 11-15 drive their automobiles with their headlights turned on, fly the American flag at their homes and businesses and leave their porch lights burning.

• College students all over the country are urged to go to class on November 14th in defiance of the radicals' call to observe a classroom moratorium on that day. "Go to Class" buttons and bumper stickers can be distributed and local Students Against the Moratorium (SAM) groups can be set up; both were done with much success on the Indiana-Purdue campus in October.

• Speaking for nine veterans' groups, W.C. Rowell, head of the Fleet Reserve Association, urges a "Tell It to Hanoi" movement this week to counter the war protestors. He calls for a chain telephone campaign to support the President in which each former serviceman will call five persons and ask them to call five more.

If each patriotic American follows at least one of these suggestions this week, the November 13-15 "peace" offensive will have achieved one purpose: It will have brought forth massive evidence that millions of Americans—the "Silent Majority"—support their country and reject the false counsel of the radical demonstrators.

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Capital Briefs

● **Spiro Agnew** may be anathema to the liberals, but rank-and-file Republicans seem to dote on the vice president. Gov. Ronald Reagan had barely mentioned his name at a recent GOP State Central Committee meeting in Anaheim, Calif., when the 1,000 or so gathered there spontaneously rose to their feet in thunderous applause.

● If Judge **Clement Haynsworth** goes down to defeat, don't expect the President to cave in to the liberals. Should the judge be rebuffed, say White House insiders, Nixon has vowed "to shove someone else equally as conservative right back on the Senate."

● Sen. **Jack Miller,** a supposedly conservative Iowa Republican, has been doing some curious things of late, like supporting liberals and knifing his own President. Within the current session of Congress, Miller has (1) supported the very liberal Hugh Scott over moderate-conservative Howard Baker for the GOP leadership post; (2) endorsed ultra-liberal John Lindsay, now the Democratic hope to beat Richard Nixon in 1972, for mayor of New York; (3) voted for the Mondale-Muskie measure promoting strategic trade with Soviet Russia; and (4) opposed—just last week—Nixon's conservative nominee for the Supreme Court, Judge Clement Haynsworth. "The way he's going," observed one Republican last week, "he could become another Charles Goodell."

● Pollster **Lou Harris,** who predicted a victory for Hubert Humphrey in the 1968 presidential election, was far off base again last week. Harris, who directed this year's straw poll for the New York Daily News, predicted a landslide win for Lindsay, giving the mayor a margin of 21 percentage points over Democrat Mario Procaccino. Actual margin: 7 points.

● Harris was not the only pollster with egg on his face. In Virginia, **Oliver Quayle** predicted a comfortable 8 percentage-point victory for Democrat William Battle. Republican Linwood Holton won by 7 points, leaving Quayle 15 points off the mark.

● When John Lindsay won the New York mayoralty election last week, Sen. **Charles Goodell,** the odd-ball Republican from New York, was one of the first to be carried away by the event. Speaking to a cheering throng in Lindsay's headquarters, Goodell remarked: "This is a great night for us to celebrate. But we must be sobered by the thought of how much further we have to go. We are at the beginning of a long road. The commitment of those who elected John Lindsay must be carried out across the state and across the country. . . . We have cast aside party and partisan considerations. . . . We have crossed stupid party barriers. Now we must go on and win the victory of peace and get out of Viet Nam."

● Despite his disappointing showing in the New York mayoralty contest last week, Republican-Conservative **John Marchi** is still contemplating contesting incumbent Charles Goodell for the GOP Senate nomination next year. Goodell, the conservative-turned-wild-swinging-liberal, is already being opposed by State Sen. Edward Speno.

● Rep. Charles Sandman (R.-N.J.) says New Jersey voters were demanding governmental economy last week when they elected Republican **William Cahill** governor by 500,000 votes. "We elected practically everybody who ran on the GOP ticket," Sandman said. "It was people trying to say they realize the tremendous evil of inflation, high prices and tight money. The trend today is to hold taxes and spending in line."

● Only one American in 20 found fault with President Nixon's **Viet Nam speech** last week. Pollster George Gallup reports 77 per cent of the people backing the President, with 6 per cent opposed and 17 per cent undecided. And by a 6-to-1 margin, the people feel that moratoriums and demonstrations are harmful to the cause of peace.

● Former Atty. Gen. **Ramsey Clark,** a superdove when it comes to law and order, suggested last week that Congress repeal jail terms for draft dodgers. "War is bad enough without making criminals out of those who refuse to serve," Clark said. He suggested that some other penalty be found for draft dodgers.

● The conservative **Americans for Constitutional Action** (ACA), a nationwide, non-partisan political action organization which compiles that indispensable scoreboard on how senators and representatives vote on major issues before Congress, has announced the election of Charles A. McManus of Bowie, Md., as its new president. Mr. McManus, who has been active on the national political scene for many years, replaces Maj. Gen. Thomas A. Lane (U.S.A., Ret.), who resigned to devote full time to his writing and lecturing commitments.

● Former Interior Secretary **Stewart Udall** is getting ready to challenge conservative Sen. Paul Fannin (R.-Ariz.) for re-election. Udall, who can expect massive aid from organized labor, is returning to the state from Washington at least once a month, mending his fences and lining up support.

● One of the biggest surprises in last week's balloting was the defeat of radical-leftist **Jesse Gray** for the New York City Council. Gray, a former Communist party organizer who has organized rent strikes throughout New York, was a Democratic nominee in heavily Democratic Harlem. But Gray received only 34 per cent of the vote in losing to Liberal Charles Taylor.

● The watchdog General Accounting Office charged last week that the government's multi-billion-dollar **fight against water pollution** has accomplished little or nothing. Despite the expenditure of $5.4 billion and the construction of 9,400 projects from coast to coast, pollution is worsening. The GAO blamed federal bureaucrats for wasteful, inefficient planning. While more money is needed, the agency concluded, none should be forthcoming until a rational basis for distributing funds is developed.

● **Black Panther** leaders in Philadelphia are recruiting members from terrorist youth gangs that have committed 38 murders this year. The Panthers hope to convert the hoodlums from "senseless killing" to "revolutionary action."

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Conservative Trend Holding

The off-year elections last week tend to confirm that the country is still being strongly buffeted by conservative winds and is far more content with the philosophy of the current Administration than the radical-extremist line spouted by the leaders in the Democratic party. The outcome of the contests also proved to be a clear personal endorsement of the President and his policy of steadfastly refusing to "cut and run" in South Viet Nam.

Even Democratic National Chairman Fred Harris, the new apostle of "bugging out," has grudgingly conceded that the President's astonishingly tough "no retreat" speech on Viet Nam "probably played some part" in the pro-Republican results of the election.

For the Republicans, the greatest triumphs came in New Jersey and Virginia, where the GOP captured two governorships. The victory was all the sweeter for the President, since he had personally campaigned for the Republican contestants.

The Jersey governorship battle between Rep. William T. Cahill and former Gov. Robert Meyner, his Democratic opponent, was largely fought over local issues, but the President's appearance in the state for Cahill unquestionably put new zip into the GOP campaign. The President's posture on Viet Nam was also important. Cahill supported Nixon's policy while Meyner rallied around the appeasement flag. Meyner's pitch to the "surrender now" crowd obviously had no political appeal, as Cahill gathered in his landslide (60 per cent) on the heels of Nixon's dramatic "anti-bug out" speech on nationwide TV.

Holton's stunning victory in Virginia, coupled with local House of Delegate wins by the Republicans, was another feather in Nixon's cap and was a convincing demonstration of the effectiveness of the President's "Southern strategy." Holton will be the first Republican in 83 years to occupy the Old Dominion state house. The Holton win, furthermore, will probably hasten the day when conservative Democrats in the South—not only in Virginia—cross over into the Republican party.

Yet the conservative trend could be discerned elsewhere as well. Oddly enough, the New York mayor-

President Nixon campaigned for Rep. William T. Cahill in his bid to become New Jersey's first GOP governor in 16 years. Cahill handily succeeded with 60 per cent of the vote.

alty race provided evidence to this effect—despite John Lindsay's dramatic comeback victory. While Lindsay himself is a far-out liberal, his two opponents, Mario Procaccino and John Marchi, ran conservative and moderate-conservative campaigns, gathering over 58 per cent of the vote between them. Thus Lindsay, who outspent each of his opponents about 4 to 1, managed to pick up only 42 per cent of the vote in the citadel of American liberalism.

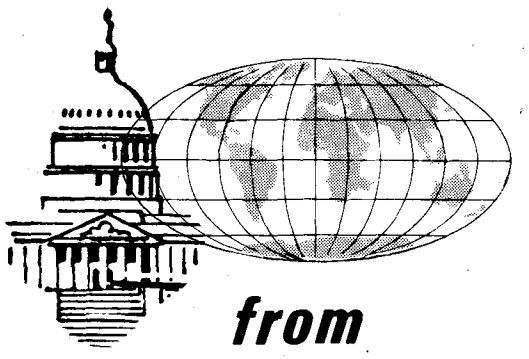
Looking at other municipal elections, the conservative trend could also be viewed, though in less advanced form.

The Democratic mayoralty candidates were generally successful, though Republicans won in Youngstown, Ohio and Hartford, Conn. They also came exceptionally close in Cleveland. But in almost all cases the Democratic margins had been sliced to a degree that clearly spells trouble for liberalism's future.

"The old days are over," noted columnist Joseph Alsop, "when Democratic national candidates could comfortably rely on getting between 60 and 70 per cent of the urban voters. The cruel race issue, the antics of the New Left and all sorts of other facts are turning the white working class voters toward the Republicans."

• Mayor Lindsay and his advisers, the New York *Times* remarked last week, have decided that Lindsay's political future might include his backing a Democratic candidate against Gov. Nelson Rockefeller next year and eventually becoming a Democrat himself. Democratic liberals, of course, are hoping that Lindsay will switch his party label in time to become the

THIS WEEK'S NEWS



from

Inside Washington

Democratic presidential nominee in 1972. (National Democratic party Chairman Fred Harris thanked Lindsay for helping to finally unite New York's liberal Democrats.)

• In the wake of Lindsay's victory in New York, Gov. Rockefeller, who has been sidling up to the conservative wing of the GOP in recent weeks, slipped right back into his customary liberal stance—no doubt in the hopes of preventing the Lindsay liberals from ganging up against him next year when he's up for re-election. Rocky not only was one of the first to congratulate Lindsay on his victory, but he then began to play up to Sen. Charles Goodell, the flip-flop Republican who was a big Lindsay booster. Though only a few weeks before, Rocky had lashed out at Goodell for playing politics with the Viet Nam war, last week Rocky said that Goodell was the "brightest, ablest man that I know on the political scene."

• Democrats won control of the Louisville, Ky., City Hall last week when former Democratic Congressman Frank Burke defeated John Sawyer, a Republican businessman, in the race for mayor. But Burke's win was not, as some have maintained, a victory for liberalism. Both fiscal and police problems plagued the eight-year Republican regime and Burke, in fact, charged the present city administration had "failed miserably" to cope with crime.

• The "law and order" problem also figured heavily in the Detroit race. There County Sheriff Roman S. Gribbs, a white moderate who made crime in the streets his major issue, defeated Richard H. Austin, the county auditor and a Negro. The trend of the big-city vote in Detroit seems clearly conservative, since the previous mayor selected by the Detroit voters was liberal Democrat Jerome Cavanagh.

• Though Mayor Carl Stokes was narrowly re-elected in Cleveland, he almost lost because of the crime issue. Stokes came under critical fire from his foes for withdrawing white police and National Guardsmen from the city's Hough and Glenville sections after rioting broke out there last January and allowing several hundred blacks, under the direction of militants and other community leaders, to try to restore order. Dr. Kenneth W. Clement, a prominent black surgeon, who was Stokes' campaign manager in 1967, stayed out of the current campaign, reportedly on the grounds that Stokes has tried too hard to appease the black militants.

Effects of Virginia Victory

The election of Linwood Holton as governor of Virginia could well be the most significant result of last week's balloting. Ending nearly a century of one-party government, Republican Holton demonstrated—as did Claude Kirk in Florida three years ago—that Southern voters are ready to accept Republican candidates for statewide office.

HOLTON

Holton's victory is likely to trigger a political realignment within Virginia—and perhaps the South as well. Conservative Democrats are now increasingly likely to move over to the GOP, and the prize catch could be Sen. Harry F. Byrd Jr.

"Young Harry," son of the late conservative statesman, had indicated to several Republican leaders that he would join the GOP if Holton won. Political observers in both parties agree that Byrd may have no choice but to switch.

"So many conservatives have already joined the Republicans that the liberals would chop him up in the [Democratic] primary," says a conservative Democratic congressman. "In a half-dozen years, there won't be a single important conservative, myself included, left in the Virginia Democratic party."

Hammering at "one-party government," stressing his ties to the Nixon Administration, Holton showed a surprising strength throughout the state as he defeated Democrat William Battle by more than 65,000 votes. Holton, who had lost a 1965 bid for governor by 57,000 votes, expanded the GOP base considerably beyond its normal mountain and Shenandoah Valley stronghold.

Not only did Holton carry western Virginia, but he cut deeply into traditionally Democratic eastern and southside areas, establishing a strong GOP foothold in the increasingly vital suburbs. He swept the northern Virginia suburbs.

While Holton failed to carry through his two running mates, he did assist local Republicans throughout the state. GOP candidates captured 24 seats in the 100-man House of Delegates, a pick up of nine. In traditionally Democratic Arlington, across the Potomac from Washington, Republican John E. Kennahan became the city's first Republican prosecutor. Similar gains were chalked up elsewhere.

Rumsfeld Seeks OEO Fund Increase

Donald Rumsfeld, the former Illinois Republican congressman now running the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO), appears to be turning on his former party colleagues and siding more and more with the Democratic congressional majority. At issue is the bill funding the controversial OEO, which was reported out of the House Education and Labor Committee last week on a straight 21-to-12 party-line vote.

RUMSFELD

In the committee liberal Democrats, led by Chairman Carl Perkins (Ky.), had added $295 million to the OEO bill above the Administration's request, bringing the total two-year authorization to $2.3 billion. Also, the Democrats had succeeded in preventing Republicans from adding any amendments to the bill which would—to liberal minds—"weaken" the OEO. (The Senate had earlier voted a $2.6-billion OEO authorization.)

Now, with the bill due to come up soon for House floor debate, Nixon appointee Rumsfeld is busily trying to convince Republican congressmen not to attempt to change the bill, even though it contains almost $300 million more

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than the President asked for at a time when the Administration is seeking to cut back government expenditures and stem inflation.

Come-lately poverty bureaucrat Rumsfeld says he does not want GOP congressmen to add any amendments to the authorization bill on the floor. The House, he said last week, should approve the OEO bill as is "without doing violence to the thrust and direction" of the agency.

Some of the amendments Republicans are still very likely to introduce are designed to give more control over the poverty program to state governments, rather than Washington bureaucrats. One such amendment would be similar to that approved by the Senate, and introduced there by Sen. George Murphy (R.-Calif.), giving state governors veto power over individual OEO programs in their states.

Rumsfeld has said he opposes the Murphy amendment designed to give the governors veto power over OEO's legal services.

It is unlikely at this time that President Nixon would overrule "his man" at OEO by supporting a cutback in OEO funds and amendments giving stronger state control over this federal program, in line with his avowed policy of "new federalism." However, a majority bloc of conservative Republicans and Democrats may well accomplish both legislative goals with or without White House backing.

And then next year President Nixon should save himself the trouble by calling for the outright abolition of the Office of Economic Opportunity . . . and put Don Rumsfeld in charge of snowflake research at Point Barrow.

• Kentucky Gov. Louie B. Nunn testified last week that the nation's anti-poverty program is riddled with political activity, dictatorial administrators and spending on the "professional poor." During his sensational four-hour appearance, Gov. Nunn, who possessed a briefcase full of charts and affidavits to buttress his accusations, also charged that OEO influence is used to win votes. Nunn quoted Everett Sharp, a local member of the community action commission in Hazard, Ky., as saying: "The primary purpose is just to get a few jobs for friends and constituents who can help them politically."

Nunn maintained that 80 per cent of the OEO funds in Kentucky are spent on salaries and administration of the anti-poverty programs. In Knox County, for instance, $416,024 in OEO funds were designated for food and emergency care programs, according to Nunn, but only $36,271 was spent on those items. Rep. Carl Perkins, the Democratic chairman of the House Education and Labor Committee, Nunn added, receives a disproportionate amount of the poverty pie. Whereas he has some 240,000 poor people, said Nunn, more than $70 million was spent by OEO in Perkins' district in the first three years.

'M&M' Bill Delights Moscow

The Soviet Union has warmly welcomed a recent U.S. Senate move to open up strategic trade with Communist countries. Writing in *Pravda*, chief publication of the Soviet Communist party, political commentator Igor Troyanovsky applauded the Senate's approval of the Mondale-Muskie measure which experts contend would permit some 1,100 of 1,300 items now considered strategic to be exported to the Soviet Union (see *Human Events* last week).

Troyanovsky, according to a dispatch filed in Moscow by Los Angeles *Times* reporter Richard Reston, "termed the Senate's initiative significant and timely."

Troyanovsky stressed that the vote demonstrated "shifts in certain political and business circles of the United States toward a more realistic approach to certain aspects of relations with European Socialist countries. . . ."

This trend, he added, represents a "more sober assessment of the need to seek ways to re-establish interrupted economic relations. Where it concerns the Soviet Union, this nation always keeps the door open to mutually beneficial and constructive cooperation with all countries which are willing to do so. This fully applies to the United States."

For the reader's benefit, those senators who earned Moscow's plaudits by voting for the Mondale-Muskie measure are listed below:

FOR THE AMENDMENT: 49

DEMOCRATS (33): Anderson, Bayh, Burdick, Cranston, Ellender, Fulbright, Gravel, Harris, Hart, Hollings, Hughes, Inouye, Jackson, Long, Magnuson, McGee, McGovern, McIntyre, Metcalf, Mondale, Montoya, Moss, Muskie, Nelson, Pastore, Proxmire, Randolph, Ribicoff, Symington, Tydings, Williams (N.J.), Yarborough and Young (Ohio).

REPUBLICANS (16): Aiken, Boggs, Brooke, Case, Cooper, Fong, Goodell, Mathias, Miller, Packwood, Percy, Prouty, Schweiker, Scott, Smith (Maine), and Young (N.D.).

Michel Blows Whistle on REA

Rep. Robert Michel (R.-Ill.) called last week for a full-scale congressional probe of more than $1 billion in low-interest loans made by Norman M. Clapp, director of the Rural Electrification Administration during the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations.

MICHEL

Michel made the demand after the Chicago *Tribune* disclosed that Clapp has been retained as a "consultant" by at least three electric co-operatives to which he made huge federal loans.

As REA director, Clapp approved the largest single loan in REA history—$97 million—to a Bismark, N.D., co-op. Then last spring, after leaving office, Clapp approached officials of the Bismark co-op and suggested they pay him $3,000 for a survey of "attitudes" toward REA. Not surprisingly, they agreed.

Clapp also contacted the Big Rivers Rural Electric Co-operative Corp. of Owensboro, Ky.—an outfit he had awarded $99 million in REA loans. Big River officials agreed to give Clapp $3,000 to "evaluate our place in the utility industry, public relations and other matters."

Also hiring Clapp as a "consultant," just months after he left REA, was the Dairyland Power co-op in La Crosse, Wis., a group that Clapp awarded $74 million in loans.

Rep. Michel does not accuse Clapp of violating any laws, but he says the situation is extremely "unhealthy." He has called for a thorough review of all loans approved by Clapp—especially those whisked through in the closing days of the Johnson Administration.

In early January, for instance, Clapp approved a $5.2-million loan to the Pedernales Electric Cooperative, Inc., of Johnson City, Tex., which just happens to provide the power for LBJ's ranch.

• Michel is also interested in Clapp's pushing through a federal loan to finance construction of a power generating plant near Petersburg, Ind., in 1961. The $71.8-million plant has been blocked from operating for the last five months because of court litigation instituted by private power companies, with the government being forced to bear the brunt of the more than $1 million in delinquent interest payment on the loans. Because of the suits filed by private power companies, the REA, for the first time in its 39-year history, has had to take over the ownership of a plant.

Michel is particularly interested in why Clapp pushed through the loan when his predecessor, David A. Hamil, turned down a chance to finance construction of the same generating plant. Hamil contends that the plant was just not needed because there was no shortage of power in southern Indiana, an assessment agreed to by other experts.

Estes Backer Still Holds Job

The case of Joseph Robertson, assistant secretary of agriculture in charge of its vast administrative affairs and personnel, continues to fascinate Capitol Hill. As pointed out last week, Robertson is one of those holdovers in a key slot that the Nixon Administration, for some strange reason, has refused to bounce.

Robertson, for instance, was involved in political preference for big-time cotton manipulator Bille Sol Estes, the first major scandal of the Kennedy-Johnson Administration. Robertson, as *Human Events* reported last week, recommended placing Estes on an important advisory committee on government cotton long after he had been apprised of the deals which landed Estes in prison.

Information unearthed by the Senate's Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations shows just how negligent Robertson was in the whole matter.

In a letter to Robertson, dated Nov. 21, 1961, John E. Francis, chief of the Review and Adjudication Division, Department Office of Personnel, asserted that an attached memorandum was "sufficiently derogatory" in nature to cause him to recommend against Estes' appointment to the National Cotton Stabilization Advisory Committee.

The "attached memo" consisted of a synoposis of a Department of Agriculture investigative report, dated Oct. 27, 1961, accusing Estes of illegal transactions and manipulating his cotton allotment. Francis stated in his letter that he realized Estes had not been tried for the alleged offenses and might not be guilty of any wrongdoing. He said, however, since the matter had actually been referred for possible prosecution, "it appears advisable to drop his name from consideration until this matter is cleared up. . . ."

But Robertson never did wait for the matter to clear up and sent Francis a note on Dec. 22, 1961, stating that he thought " . . . Mr. Estes should be appointed to this committee." Subsequently, of course, Estes was indicted and went to jail. Robertson, apparently being rewarded for his negligence in the Estes case, remains in the Department of Agriculture in a key job—like so many other holdovers.

Justice Fears Moratorium Violence

While much of the liberal press has been poohpoohing the idea, there is a solid chance that the massive "anti-war" demonstrations scheduled for November 13-15 in Washington, D.C., may break out into open violence. "New Mobe," the chief organizing group, it is noted, is brimming over with Communists and other assorted radicals, many of whom are practiced street revolutionaries. Many of the individuals and groups planning to come to the Nation's Capital, moreover, have publicly proclaimed their intention to disrupt the city.

Thus, the Justice Department—contrary to the opinions of the Washington *Post*—is believed to be well within its rights in restricting the actions of the marchers.

Liberation News Service, a major underground news service, has indicated just what might happen during the demonstration days:

"Get your red flags ready and come to Washington, D.C., on November 15," the LNS says in a recent dispatch to its readers. "Plans are being forged," it continues, "for a militant 'red flag' contingent to participate in the massive anti-war demonstration in Washington and to add an additional action: an attack on the headquarters of the Department of Justice.

" 'Stop the Trial' [of the Conspiracy 8] and 'Free All Political Prisoners'—those will be the two main slogans of the action at the Justice Department, which is seen as supplementary to the main march on the White House organized by the New Mobilization Committee Against the War in Viet Nam.

"Many diverse groups are involved in promoting the Justice Department action—the Yippies, the Black Panther party, the Committees Against Fascism, Youth Against War and Fascism, various factions of SDS, Liberation News Service and the Committee of Returned Volunteers."

During the big rally on November 15, says LNS, "the Red Flag contingent will constitute an agit-prop (agitation-propaganda-turn-on) unit to work to bring people to the Justice Department."

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TV's Slant on Chicago Coverage

Congressional investigators have completed a year-long probe by concluding that TV coverage of the 1968 Democratic National Convention was biased and misleading, presenting a "one-sided picture which in large measure exonerates the demonstrators and protesters."

In a confidential, 64-page report to the House Commerce Committee, counsel Daniel Menelli and chief investigator James Kelly charged that the networks "had deliberately withheld from the air film and video tape material which would have been derogatory to the demonstrators." Contents of the report were disclosed last week by columnist Jack Anderson.

The investigators examined literally miles of network film and video tape—much of it never shown to viewers. Available but never shown, according to the probers, were shots of material raining down from the Hilton Hotel onto the heads of police and camera crews.

"The investigators also noted footage showing police cars being stoned by the demonstrators with the police pursuing and capturing at least one of the stone throwers." In at least one scene, the police were shown in pursuit, but the provocation was omitted from the air.

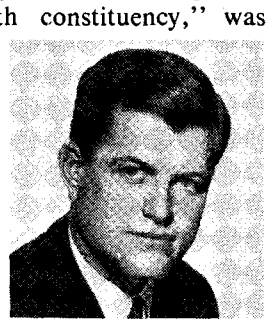
Audio as well as film material was sometimes edited in a peculiar manner. CBS reel 20-5, for instance, showed the beginning of the conflict between police and hippies. An announcer declared: "They are assaulting police lines."

But when the film was shown to CBS viewers from coast to coast, "no reference was made to the above-quoted remark, nor was any scene of the assault visible."

The House investigators felt that the network commentators were something less than impartial in their coverage. "While many of the major commentators spoke at length concerning the shock they felt over what was happeining to the young demonstrators downtown, little or no comment was made concerning profanity, obscene signs and gestures, and physical abuse employed by the demonstrators to provoke the police," according to the study.

Teddy Gets Lesson in Politics

Sen. Edward Kennedy, a politician seeking desperately to retain his "youth constituency," was given a short lesson in politics last week by a non-politician, Yale University President Kingman Brewster.



KENNEDY

Brewster, who runs one of the few U.S. campuses that has been free of major disruption in recent years, had been invited to Washington to appear before Kennedy's Administrative Practice and Procedure subcommittee. The Senate unit was considering President Nixon's proposal to reform the Selective Service system by instituting a lottery form of draftee selection.

Previously Kennedy had said that he would use the lottery bill, which has passed the House, to seek broader—and more controversial—reforms of the draft system. Because of the extensive hearings such far-reaching alterations would necessitate, Kennedy's demand would, in effect, postpone consideration of the lottery proposal until next year.

Enter Kingman Brewster. "The reason this good and desperately needed legislation [Nixon's proposal] is to be put off is not that it has any faults," Brewster told Kennedy pointedly, "rather, it is evidently to serve as hostage so that senators with other, more controversial, draft reforms in mind will surely have a legislative vehicle for securing consideration of their proposals.

"It has often been said that the best is the enemy of the good. This bright, cynical generation of students is not going to appreciate it if this opportunity for meaningful reform falls by the wayside because of a desire to do more than can realistically be done in this session of Congress. In the name of common sense and equity, let us. . .give the President the authority to make the new system work."

Brewster then recommended that the Senate amend the lottery bill so that the present draft law expires Jan. 1, 1971, instead of, as is now provided, July 1, 1971. This would mean that the entire law would be debated next year, at which time Kennedy could push for his broader reforms.

Somewhat chastised and enlightened by Brewster's lecture, Kennedy allowed as how the amendment idea was a mighty good one and had his support. Sen. John Stennis (D.-Miss.), chairman of the Armed Services Committee, also liked the idea and it looks now as if the Senate will move on the Nixon lottery proposal this session after all.

Sometimes it takes a non-politician to show the pros how to get things done.

Ullman Questions Welfare Proposal

President Nixon's welfare reform proposals, still being presented before the House Ways and Means Committee, are coming under critical fire. Rep. Al Ullman, for instance, a liberal Oregon Democrat, has commended the aims of the reform measures, but he is highly dubious about many of their features.

ULLMAN

The Oregon congressman raised doubts that the welfare proposal—based on a new federal minimum payment plan, revenue sharing and putting people to work—would rid the welfare system of the bureaucratic tangle it now suffers from.

"On the contrary," said Ullman recently, "it may bog down our welfare program more deeply than ever." Ullman argued that a system of automatic payments and spot checks, as proposed by the Administration, would be ineffective. "Bureaucracy," he maintained, "just doesn't work that way. Extensive machinery would have to be set up to validate new claims and to ensure that system controls are meaningful."

The Social Security Administration, which would run the new program under the Nixon proposal, would have to be greatly enlarged to meet new responsibilities, said Ullman.

"We would not be eliminating bureaucratic personnel," he added, "just shifting from a basically state-run bureaucracy to a federally directed one."

Ullman also questioned the cost of the Nixon proposal, which the Administration sets at $4 billion a year. "I believe the new system and the associated programs that have been outlined would cost the taxpayers twice that much annually," said the senior member of the Ways and Means Committee, adding that the Nixon plan would make an estimated 12 million more persons eligible for welfare benefits.

Red Research on U.S. Contracts

Security experts in the Nation's Capital were stunned last week when it was divulged that a number of Pentagon contracts awarded to Swedish researchers are worked on by scientists from Communist countries.

A Swedish research team, working on a U.S. Air Force contract, for instance, had had Russian, Polish and Czechoslovakian scientists on the staff. The team is headed by Prof. Per-Olov Lowdin, of the Institute of Quantum Chemistry at Uppsala University. According to Lowdin, the Pentagon attaches no strings to its contracts.

Prof. Hans Engstrom, also of Uppsala, who receives about $20,000 annually from the U.S. Navy for work on noise effects of the inner ear, was quoted as saying: "I cooperate intimately with Russian and Czechoslovakian scientists."

Robert E. Wood: 1879 - 1969

Robert E. Wood, who built Sears, Roebuck & Co. from a strictly mail order concern to the world's largest merchandizing organization with more than 800 retail stores and 11 catalogue plants, died last week at his home in Lake Forest, Ill. He was 90 years of age. A charter subscriber to *Human Events* and a stout supporter of many other conservative causes, Wood had a colorful career. A West Point graduate who served under Gen. Douglas MacArthur in World War I, Wood, who quickly rose to the rank of brigadier general, also served under Gen. George Goethals, when Goethals was responsible for the entire Panama Canal project.

When Wood joined Sears in 1924, the company had sales of $199 million. Upon retiring as chairman of the board in 1954, Wood had seen Sears' sales volume soar to more than $3 billion. Wood was also known as a generous employer. As one of the architects of Sears' savings and profit-sharing pension plan, he helped to create a multi-billion-dollar fund owned by company employes that has paid them more than a billion dollars in the form of retirement pay. "I'm prouder of it than of anything else I ever did in business," he once said.

Weaver Fellowship Awards

The Intercollegiate Studies Institute has announced the Richard M. Weaver Fellowship Awards Program for the 1970-71 academic year. Named for the late author, philosopher and professor, the program is open to graduate students in any field of study. Twenty fellowships will be awarded for the academic year 1970-71. Each fellow will receive a grant of $1,500 and payment of tutition at the school of his choice.

Because of Prof. Weaver's deep interest in education, the Fellowship Program is maintained exclusively for those who will teach, for, as the awards committee says, "that profession presents the greatest opportunity to deal with the first concerns of civilization, and thus with its ultimate preservation."

A descriptive brochure, including an application form, is available from the Richard M. Weaver Fellowship Awards Program, Intercollegiate Studies Institute, 14 South Bryn Mawr Ave., Bryn Mawr, Pa. 19010. Complete applications must be submitted by Jan. 15, 1970.

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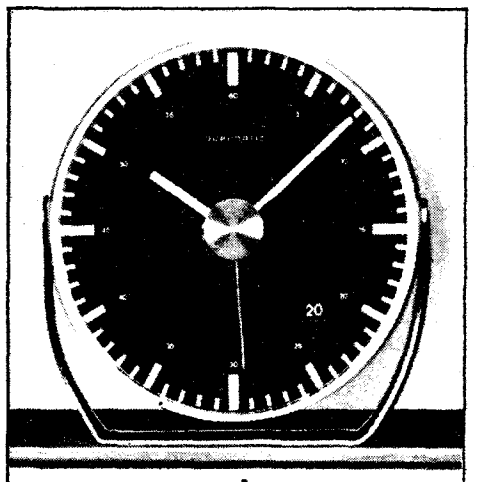

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Will Compete With SDS, Black Panthers

Communist Party Reorganizes to Infiltrate Industry

By VICTOR RIESEL

Pittsburgh:—Old revolutionists never die. They don't even fade away. They churn up new committees and head for the troubled waters in the nation's mainstream. Perhaps jugular would be the better word.

Thus the news of a new strike wave has swung the Communist Party, U.S.A. —and its hard-core 10,000 to 12,000 members—into action. Its leaders and their followers are skilled "undergroundists." They know that timing is everything. Now they're moving into what they call their "Program of Concentration in Industry." It will be a professional operation with no digression for SDS unprogrammed, amateurish—albeit bloody—street fighting and cop baiting.

These revolutionists are realists. They have no mass base. The heavy recruiting of the '30s is their own impossible dream and they know it is part of their memoirs.

They have urbanized Mao's guerrilla tactics. They now seek but 500 strategically placed young new activists in three industries, in a handful of concentration points (such as this Iron City) in such carefully selected areas as Michigan, Illinois, Ohio, Indiana as well as here in western Pennsylvania where the comrades have been running a sex mill.

The target industries are "auto, steel and electrical supplies." Up for special smearing are AFL-CIO President George Meany and United Steelworkers leader I.W. (Abe) Abel.

Up for infiltration are the picket lines of today and tomorrow, the General Electric strikers and the mass formations expected in the almost inevitable auto confrontation next fall and the national steel stoppage a year later.

It has all been developed like a battle plan. Step by step the strategy was laid out by the Communist party's National Committee. Some hundred of the party's carefully screened National Committee met secretly in New York City's Hotel McAlpin for three days beginning September 20. They were ignored, for they called their gathering the Socialist Workers Seminar.

There it was decided that the three top party leaders would each lead a concentration—America's own Brezhnev, Gus Hall, assigned himself to command of the industrial concentration in steel, centered here in Pittsburgh. His black comrade, Henry Winston, was assigned the auto industry because of the concentration of black workers in the car factories. And Daniel Rubin, third in the party's hierarchy, since he is national organization secretary, was given the electrical industry.

They will work out of their 26th Street party headquarters in New York, but will constantly shuttle between there and Michigan, Illinois, Ohio and Pittsburgh.

These veteran revolutionists are long-term strategists and smart short-term strategists. First things first. They know that the black community has passed them by. They know, for example, that they have no worthy communication pipeline into such huge concentrations of black workers as the membership of the big Ford Local 600, United Auto Workers, in Detroit.

They know the Black Panthers have out-romanticized them. They know the SDS has the majority of the way-out-left street actionists.

So they have infiltrated the Black Panthers, split them and now have many of their cadres fighting along class and not color lines. This was not difficult, since at most now there are 1,200 Black Panther members in some 40 chapters. The figures are J. Edgar Hoover's. They are, therefore, scientifically accurate.

So the party leaders have decided to put their own show on the road. They have created the "Temporary Organizing Committee for a New Marxist-Leninist Youth Organization."

While most Americans will be Yuling it up the day after Christmas with the man in the white beard, the Communists will be paying homage to old black beard, Karl Marx, in Chicago. There the new Marxist-Leninist Youth Organization will open its three-day founding convention on December 26.

Its objective is the uniting of black and white working class youth for infiltration in industry. Thus with a single maneuver the party hopes to broaden its base among the black youth, bring white young people in as their comrades and start seeding industry with strategically placed "sleepers."

At the same time party headquarters in New York has directed all "party districts to hold conferences in industrial concentration by January 1970." All leading party officials have been ordered to "assist industrial concentration clubs in person." Top leaders of the party will assume responsibility for various industries. By April 1970 the "concentration" is to be rolling.

Obviously the party has been directed by the "American Desk" of the Soviet's Central Committee to get swinging. And just as obviously the party cannot produce the kind of industrial mass base which almost gave it control of the CIO in the late '30s and early '40s.

But it can disrupt. It can send small cadres onto the picket lines to provoke violence. It can provoke police reaction as strike after strike wave hits thousands of plants. It can "image" America as a land where the police "shoot down the workers." It can provide its fraternal parties abroad with anti-American propaganda that could inflict deep political hurt on our friends during elections being fought by forces friendly to the U.S. from Santiago, Chile, to Ceylon—from Paris to Singapore.

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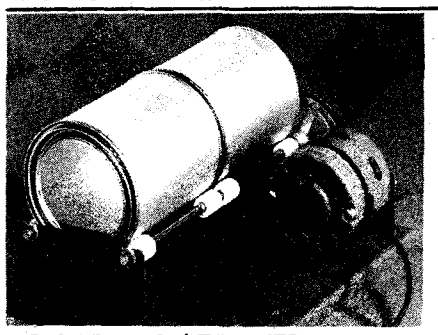

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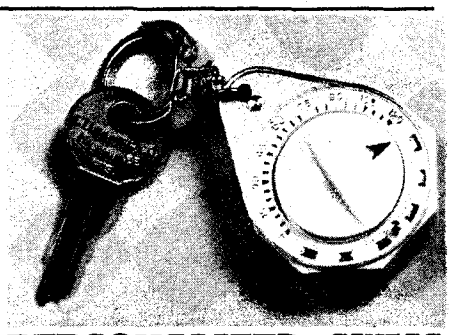

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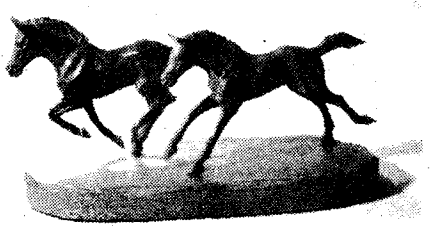

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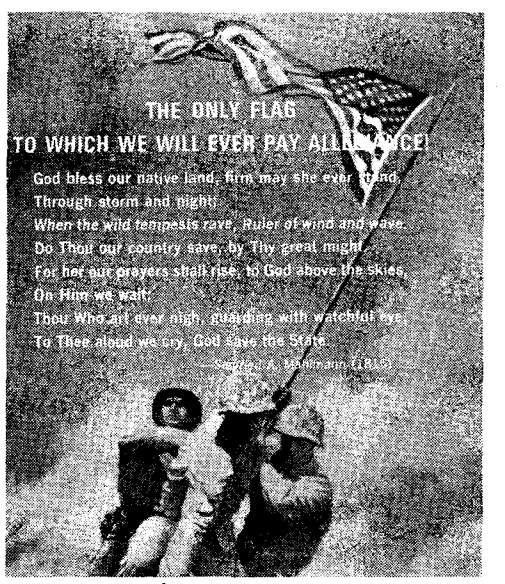
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Foreign Aid in India and Afghanistan

The Tale of Two—and More—Buddhas

By ELGIN GROSECLOSE

Kabul, Afghanistan:—Carved 18 centuries ago in the cliff face in the remote and almost inaccessible Bamyan valley of the Hindu Kush rears a colossal figure of the Buddha that has just become the object of a new and unique foreign aid program. The first and greatest of the erect, as distinct from the seated or recumbent Buddhas, it stands 175 feet in height, or higher than Niagara Falls. Since its desecration and mutilation by 11th-Century Moslems it has remained a mournful and abandoned reminder of an extinct faith in the region.

Recently, however, the governments of predominantly Hindu India and Moslem Afghanistan have agreed on a joint project for the restoration of the Buddha. A facial surgery in stone will renew the battered visage and the enormous trunk will again be clothed in gilt and crimson raiment.

How much this project will cost the treasuries of the two poverty-stricken countries, one of them recipient of over $10 billion in foreign aid, the other an estimated $2 billion, is as yet indeterminate.

With the cost of gold leaf at $45 an ounce and up for the raw material, added to the transport cost to the ruins—some 154 miles from Kabul through narrow and rocky gorges—the expense will certainly not be modest. India, of course, has plenty of gold in the Indian equivalent of the mattress, and if it has not been forthcoming in payment of the millions of tons of wheat provided by a generous West to feed its starving populations, no doubt it will be found for a project of such glittering attraction.

If Western eyebrows should raise over why a Hindu nation and a Moslem nation should join in the restoration of a Buddhist idol—or, more important for the United States, how they can afford this expense in the light of the abject poverty of their peoples—the answer is to be found in national interest and prestige and the support given to these ends by means of lavish foreign aid, much of it from the U.S. taxpayer.

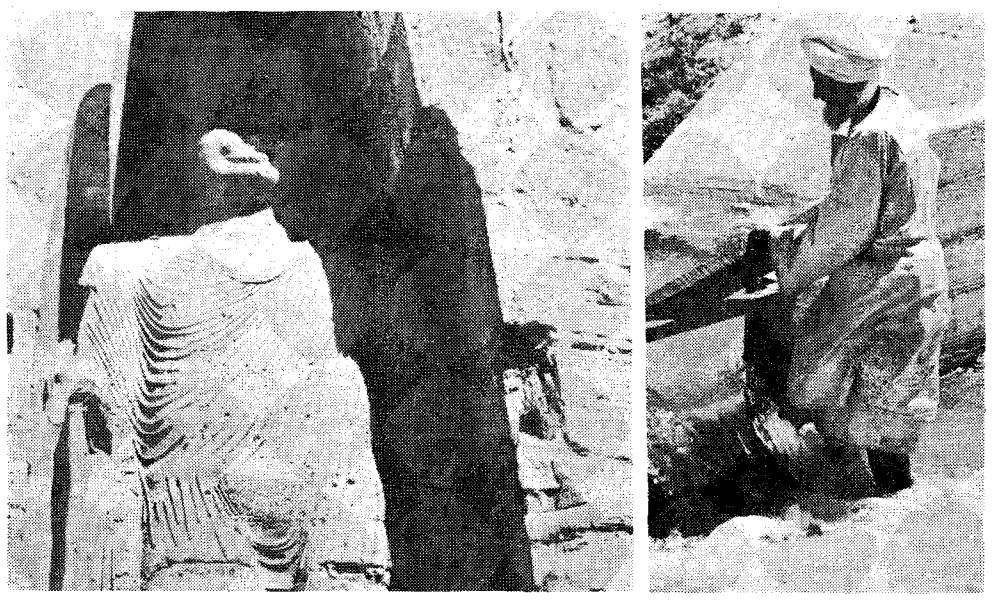
Whether the funds for the particular expense are drawn from the local treasuries or directly from foreign aid recipients is inconsequential; foreign largess relieves the local treasury and allows the expenditure.

Of more significance is the particular national interest being served at the expense of the poverty-ridden populations for which foreign aid is theoretically designed. Not always is it the national interest of the recipient country.

Thus, in the case of the Bamyan Buddha, India's assistance to Afghanistan is a product of their mutual hostility toward Pakistan. It serves India's interest to cultivate cordial relations with Afghanistan on the logic of the French political adage which says: "My neighbor's neighbor is my friend because he is my neighbor's enemy."

Afghanistan has an interest—though somewhat more tenuous—in the restoration of the Great Buddha. This is a tourist interest. Though the roads leading to Bamyan are execrable, archaeological interest in the valley is drawing an increasing number of visitors, mainly flown in by 15-passenger planes.

Hopefully, the land route may be improved, for Bamyan lies on the ancient caravan route—the Great Silk Road—over which passed the trade of China with the West. Prior to the Mongol invasions of the 13th Century it had been a populous and prosperous region. In 1222 A.D., however, Genghis Khan overcame the defense in terrible rage and ordered the death of every living thing down to the reptiles under his horse's feet, and the region has been desolate since—an area of invitation to the archaeologist's spade and the contemplation of the philosopher.



At left is the Bamyan Buddha, hailed by Afghans as the Eighth Wonder of the World. Its restoration will in effect be paid for by the U.S. taxpayer, while the average Afghan peasant (right) still fights his centuries-old battle to stay alive.

The Bamyan Buddha restoration is not the only monument to national interest in Afghanistan. Another symbolic Buddha, for instance, is the one created in the Helmand Valley some 15 years ago through some $75 million of U.S. foreign aid. This is in the form of a great dam that was to be an imposing demonstration of American interest and benevolence and technical superiority. Its ostensible utility was to irrigate some quarter-million acres of desert plains upon which the nomad tribes would be induced to settle.

Unfortunately, the tribes did not see the blessings of tillage over pasturage, and were obdurate about being coerced to settle down. In addition, the supposedly beneficent soil has shown itself refractory due to salt leaching, a problem with which the foreign aid experts are still grappling.

To salvage the project—as well as the prestige of the U.S. and the sensitivity of the Afghanistan government—more millions are in course of investment in a subsidiary Buddha. This one is in the form of electrical generators fed by the dammed waters of the Helmand, which hopefully will attract industry and redeem the failure to attract farmers.

Classified also as a modern Buddha—that is to say, an object of veneration that accepts oblations but yields a minimum of blessings—is the Afghan trunk road system, undoubtedly the best in Asia, since the principal elements were constructed in a form of competition between Soviet and American engineers. These fine, asphalted highways serve the national and strategic interest of the two powers more than that of Afghanistan.

Thus the Russian-built section, extending southward from the Soviet border to the capital, and piercing the Salang range in a spectacular tunnel at 11,000 feet elevation, would allow a Soviet tank column to reach the capital within hours and thereby render Afghanistan another subservient Czechoslovakia. (This, the Afghans well appreciate.) Since the country has no seacoast, the U.S.-built sections in the south have less strategic value, except as they might connect with the Iranian road system. The Iranians, however, look down upon their Aryan and Persian-speaking cousins as poor relations, and so far have failed to extend their roads to the Afghan border.

The irony in the situation is that without a system of feeder roads, as yet largely non-existent, these trunk lines are of minimum service to the Afghan economy, only about 10 per cent of the traffic serving basic Afghan needs.

Other lesser Buddhas are the series of German- and Soviet-built dams along the Kabul River, that give the capital an abundance of unused electrical power since the distribution system is lacking to utilize the available capacity.

Meantime, while these various Buddhas are extolled in foreign aid hearings, with the object of attracting more millions from the American taxpayer for similar Buddhas of Western materialism, the poor Afghan continues to pitch his black tent here and there as the pastures for his scrawny goats may allow, and the ragged tiller to terrace his patch of wheat along the mountain ravines, waiting for the day when the gilt will be turned into ploughshares and the crimson into seed grain.

Mr. Groseclose, a noted Washington, D.C., investment consultant, is the author of Fifty Years of Managed Money *and* Money and Man.

'No Investigation' Test Doubles Welfare Cost

From the Indianapolis *Star*

An ill-conceived and inappropriately named "simplified application system," a significant element in a so-called "test program" being conducted in Marion County, Indiana, has nearly doubled welfare costs in this community since the program was initiated July 1.

The expensive flaw in the new program, being undertaken to test the welfare concepts of President Richard M. Nixon, has been pinpointed by Wayne A. Stanton, long-time Marion County welfare director, whose performance over the years rates him as one of the most experienced and level-headed public officials in the country.

Under the new system, there is, amazingly, no investigation as formerly required, of data listed by welfare applicants.

It seems incredible that the national welfare bureaucracy could not have foreseen that this help-yourself-to-the-money g i m m i c k would be an open invitation to falsifying claims, which hard experience now has proven it to be.

The problem is compounded by the fact that the so-called "simplified" form actually is, as Stanton puts it, "more complicated than one of our income tax reports"—another instance of monumental bureaucratic blundering.

As anyone with common sense could have foreseen, the number of individuals "entitled" to benefits surged to new highs. In the controversial aid-to-dependent-children (ADC) category, they more than quadrupled and funds were rapidly depleted, necessitating new appropriations and fund transfers.

Stanton predicts costs will soar even higher unless there is a change in the national welfare philosophy. The President has proposed a guaranteed annual income program based on a "just-ask-to-get" system like that which has turned out to be such a grab bag in Indianapolis, and containing a work incentive feature which some critics fear may not yield the desired results.

Nationally, welfare rolls have almost doubled in 10 years, to nearly 10 million persons, and the cost has practically tripled, to approximately $10 billion—this in a time when detailed probes of applicants' claims were the rule.

ADC consumes the lion's share of funds, a huge portion going to unwed mothers. In Marion County it is policy to seek court action to establish a morals charge against a welfare mother with three or more illegitimate children, so that they can be taken from her and placed in suitable foster homes. Generally the court acts only if the mother has children of "a knowledgeable age," seven or older, which greatly limits power to cope with the problem.

Under the new, fraud-prone system it is possible for unwed mothers to evade even this action by falsifying their status as legally separated or divorced.

An unwanted child, brought into being for mercenary motives and often plunged into a slum environment, is the most pathetic victim of this unjust process. Common experience shows that he is likely to grow by stages from an infant burden to a juvenile delinquent to an adult criminal.

Here is the chief and most consequential evil of the present welfare system. Is it not time to change it drastically?

Is it not time to enact new laws which will put an end to bounty for immorality? If only for humanitarian reasons, the law should provide that any illegitimate child born to a mother who subsists on public welfare be taken from the mother and placed in a foster home or state nursery and later in a state school. In such an environment the child would receive proper care and education and would stand a far better chance to become a healthy, productive adult.

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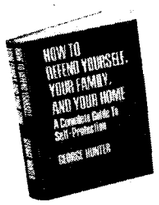

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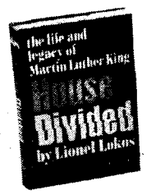

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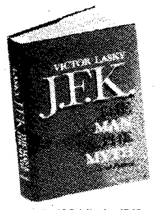

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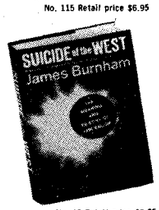

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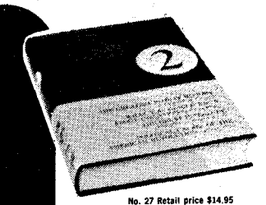

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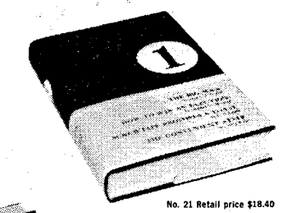

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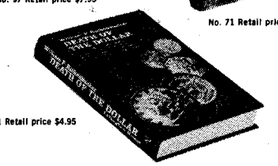

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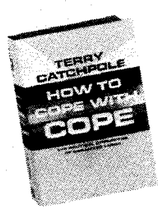

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The Strange Case of the Intercepted Telegram

By WILLARD EDWARDS

A strange incident excited congressional investigators recently. They called it "the mystery of the intercepted telegram."

An inquiry dissolved the mystery but left some disturbing questions.

Here's what happened to Mr. and Mrs. George Manuel of Dayton, after they sent a telegram last October 9 to Sen. Russell Long (D.-La.), chairman of the Senate Finance Committee.

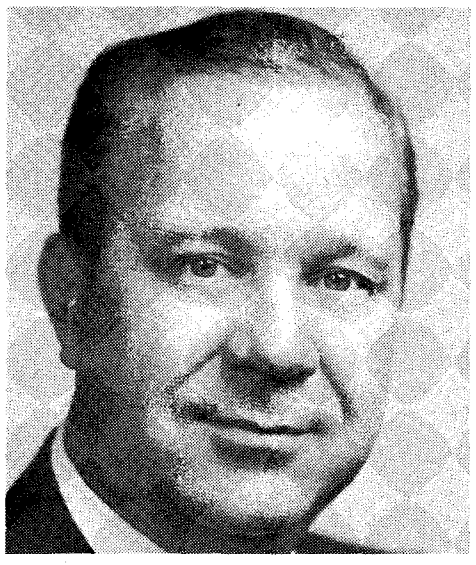
The Manuels offered to supply documented material which, they contended, would place in doubt the ability of Sen. Birch Bayh (D.-Ind.) to question the integrity of Judge Clement Haynsworth, President Nixon's nominee as Supreme Court justice.

Bayh is leading the fight to defeat the Haynsworth nomination. Long is a Haynsworth supporter.

The Manuels supplied their address and telephone number in the message and suggested to Long that they should be contacted by "you or any authorized representative of your office."

Next day, the couple received a call from Washington. They said the caller identified himself as Joe Rees, an aide to Long.

Sen. Long was deeply interested and wanted to see the material, Rees said. The Manuels said the evidence was largely in the form of records in the federal court at Indianapolis, concerning bankruptcy litigation. It would fully



Sen. Russell Long (D.-La.) playing the "club" game, let Sen. Birch Bayh know immediately about the charges against him.

support the contention that Bayh was an unworthy crusader in the Haynsworth case, they maintained.

They were instructed to send the material, not to Long's office, but to the home of Rees at 1524 30th St., N.W., Washington. Such material might be intercepted in the Senate mail room, they were informed.

The Manuels say they were warned not to contact any other senator. Sen. Long wanted to get "exclusive" credit for "exposing" Bayh, they quoted the caller as stating.

On October 16, after sending the data to the private address as instructed, Mrs. Manuel called Long's office in Washington and asked for "Joe Rees." There was no such employe, she was told. The Capitol Hill operator obligingly provided the information that a Joseph M. Rees was an aide to Sen. Bayh.

The Manuels were left in the belief that interception of telegrams to senators was possible. Charging "skulduggery," they fired off a summary of the circumstances to Sen. John J. Williams (R.-Del.) and Rep. H. R. Gross (R.-Iowa), two celebrated congressional investigators, and Rep. Richard L. Roudebush (R.-Ind.).

Questioning quickly disclosed that the telegram had not been intercepted. When Long received it, he sent it over to Bayh's office. Long is not particularly fond of Bayh, who helped to oust him last January from the Senate whip post. But there is a code in the club known as the United States Senate which automatically makes the members hover protectively when one of them is under fire.

Rees, a young aide to Bayh who joined his staff last February, readily conceded in an interview that he had called Mrs. Manuel. He denied he had posed as Long's aide. He said he had merely identified himself as Joe Rees, "calling about your telegram to Sen. Long," and if Mrs. Manuel had jumped to conclusions he wasn't to blame.

"It may have been a little devious," he confessed. "There's a bit of Dick Tracy in me." He admitted telling Mrs. Manuel to mail her material to his home address. He still has the data. Bayh has since sent a note of thanks to Long.

Eventual inquiry will develop whether the material supplied by the Manuels is, in fact, substantive, or, as Bayh's staff contends, an attack which, under investigation, will be discovered baseless.

The Justice Department, which has been asked to probe the incident, may find no violation of the law.

But this recital of what happened to the Manuels could be disquieting to the hundreds of thousands of citizens who write or wire their senators and congressmen in simple trust that the confidential nature of these messages will be respected.

(1969, Chicago *Tribune*-N.Y.*News* Syndicate)

Eleven-Point Program

Reforming Social Security

By RUSSELL KIRK

Today most people's payments into the Social Security system are a heavy burden; not a few folk—and those, people of low incomes—have more deducted from their pay for Social Security than for income tax. And that burden may become crushing for the rising generation, as payments to old people grow larger but the average age of the American public increases.

Can anything be done to reform the system? Mr. Edward J. Van Allen has written a succinct book about all this, *The Trouble With Social Security* (Omnipress, Mineola, N.Y.). After surveying the woes of this foundering leviathan, he makes 11 recommendations for improvement.

• First, he argues, $1,500 of income should be exempt from Social Security deductions—a relief for people of low income. And he would rename this operation of the welfare state "the U.S. Pension and Aid to Dependents System"—PADS. ("Social Security" has become a misleading title.)

• Second, he would fix the maximum rate of taxation for PADS at 10 per cent—5 per cent from employer, 5 per cent from employe.

• Third, he would pay PADS revenues directly into the Treasury, rather than perpetuating the present mask of a Social Security trust fund.

• Fourth, he would guarantee benefits by formal contract between government and citizen, rather than leaving the system to the discretion of Congress.

• Fifth, he would have PADS guarantee a substantial lump-sum benefit at death: $5,000 to $10,000, say, with provisions for continuing benefits to widows and dependent children.

• Sixth, he would abolish the ceiling on earnings of people over 65 who receive benefits: it is all to the good for the national economy and the Treasury that these people should continue to work, if they wish.

• Seventh, one would be able to qualify for PADS benefits if he had worked only five years; and his benefits should be calculated on the basis of the five years of his highest earnings.

• Eight, the Treasury would be required, on demand, to supply statements of the amount of earnings received, and taxes paid, by people covered by PADS.

• Ninth, the minimum monthly benefit under PADS would be at least $120 per month—for widows, too; and there would be fairly generous benefits for surviving dependent children, on a graduated scale. The total benefits for a widow with several small children would be much higher than they are under present Social Security provisions. This generosity is intended to reduce welfare rolls.

• Tenth, disability benefits would begin after 30 days, rather than the present six months.

• Eleventh, PADS (Social Security) taxes would be deductible from federal income taxes.

Mr. Van Allen would finance the increased costs of this system by reducing expenditures for foreign aid, the Department of Defense, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, and other items in the federal government's budget. Whether those economies are practicable just now, many will doubt. But certainly the Van Allen plan deserves lengthy discussion.

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Book Burning—Liberal Style

From the Arizona *Republic*

Book burning is a vile, totalitarian practice. It can take many forms, as in Nazi Germany where books which went against the Third Reich's twisted ideology were thrown onto heaps and set afire, or as in Soviet Russia, where only books containing doctrinally "pure" messages can be published or read.

But book burning takes far more subtle forms, and some prominent liberals—who are loudest in their protestations against the practice—have just provided a wonderful example of how it is done.

The September 15 issue of *New York* magazine lists forthcoming books, with comments, and divides them into the categories, "Worth While" and "Worth Little." Under "Worth Little," the following appeared:

"*Odyssey of a Friend: Whittaker Chambers' Letters to William F. Buckley Jr., 1954-61* (Putnam). What can one say?"

Well, as William Buckley said in a letter he wrote to Clay Felker, editor

William F. Buckley Jr., with good reason, has been a foe of liberal "book-burning."

of the magazine, "What one can say is not a goddamn thing. Because the ideologized imposter who put the book in that category had not even seen the book, not a single review copy having been sent out (the existing edition is privately printed.)"

Buckley sent copies of his letter to two editors of the New York *Times*, but of course nothing will be said about it. Because this is leftist book burning, don't you see, and liberals are only interested in book burning and censorship of the right.

It so happens we own a copy of the Chambers-Buckley book, and, unlike the editors of *New York* magazine, we read it. And what we can say is that it is a brillant dissection of liberal hubris—of the sort that prompted the hatchet job in *New York* magazine.

Book burning by liberals has been a fact of life for several decades. Most often it takes the form of ignoring books by intellectual conservatives who reject the prevailing liberal mythology. However, when they cannot ignore the books, they give them for review to someone who can be depended upon to do a standard hatchet job on the author's reputation, intelligence and sanity.

Examples of this technique, which the liberal media have refined to an art, are too numerous to mention. But we will cite one example which is somewhat more illustrative than most:

The March 11, 1968 of *Publishers' Weekly* (a book trade journal) contains a novel entitled, *Call It Rhodesia*. The reviewer, who wages constant warfare against any but certified liberals, admitted that it was a "smartly written action novel and an adventure story that will appeal to many."

All well and good. But then the reviewer adds: "The ultimate point of view, however, is very much that of sympathy for Rhodesia's policy of white supremacy and *you had better take this into account in selling the book*" (emphasis added).

In other words, book dealers, it might be a good idea to ignore this book. Or if someone insists on ordering it, perhaps you should try to talk him out of it, or at least warn him.

How does that square with the liberal assertion that all views must be heard and considered? Or that [illegible] must think the unthinkable?

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How to Combat Campus Radicals

By HARVEY H. HUKARI Jr.

All indications from across the country are that the current academic year is going to be another violent one for our nation's colleges and universities. While most students may be concerned with attending classes and pondering the prospects for their school's football team, a number of others have been busily laying the groundwork and organizing for a continuation of campus disturbances.

Despite the split which developed at the Chicago convention of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), the largest radical youth group, it appears as if the organization will remain in the forefront of college turmoil as it has for the past two years. Some SDS factions may be branching out into factories and businesses in an attempt to develop bonds with the working class, but the major portion of the group will be concentrating on campus affairs.

In the September issue of the FBI *Law Enforcement Bulletin,* Director J. Edgar Hoover warns, "Just as soon as the firebrands can muster a caucus of dissidents, we will witness a continuation of the senseless plunder which caused more than $3 million of damage to colleges and universities last academic year."

At the University of Wisconsin, one administrator has publicly acknowledged that the era of the sit-in as a tactic has ended and we may be entering a period of Molotov cocktails and guerrilla warfare. His assessment may be a little late in coming. According to a study of campus disorders conducted by the staff of the Senate Subcommittee on Investigations, headed by Sen. John McClellan (D.-Ark.), there already have been 25 incidents of bombings or attempted bombings and 46 cases of arson or suspected arson over the past two years.

The McClellan committee report also revealed that while there are 2,374 institutions of higher learning in this country, only 211 of them (less than 10 per cent) have actually endured any type of serious disturbance. Yet more than half of those disruptions required college authorities to call for police assistance and 12 necessitated the presence of the National Guard.

The end result of two years of violence and disorder has been over 6,000 arrests, 645 suspensions or expulsions of students, millions of dollars worth of damage to buildings and property and an inestimable loss of public faith in American higher education.

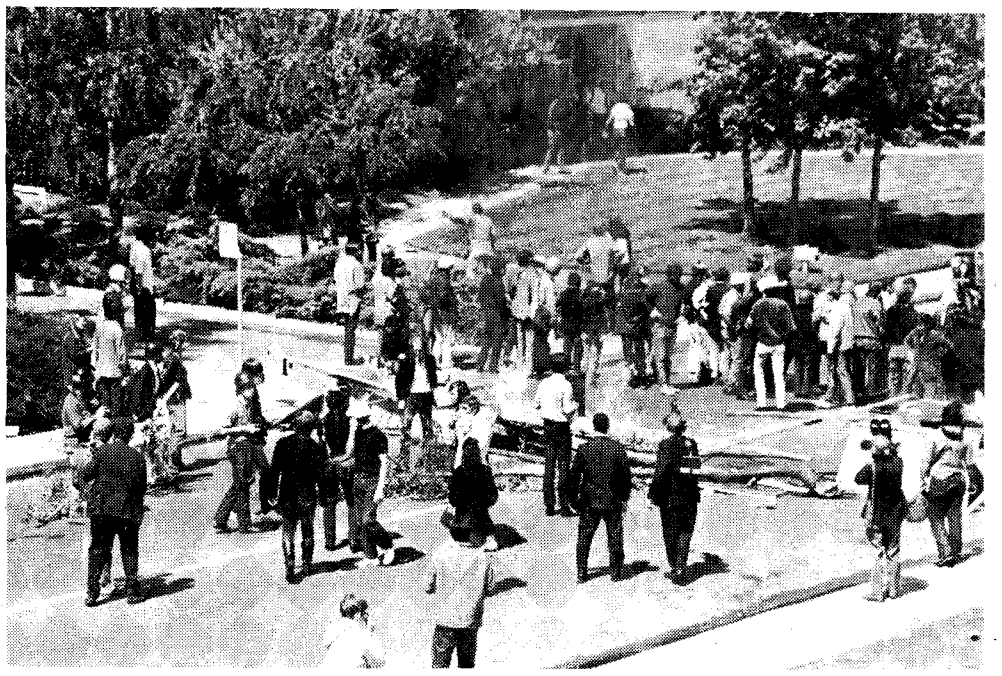
With the bitter experiences of the past in mind, many college administrations have drawn up "battle" plans to be activated in the event of more outbreaks of violence and destruction.

Some colleges have strengthened their ties with local police forces and have prepared applications for legal injunctions against campus militants should the possibility of a serious disturbance arise. Such maneuverings may stymie radical attempts at closing down colleges or occupying buildings, but the attacks on the educational system by student militants are likely to continue. Many of the root causes of student dissatisfaction still persist even in the most open and flexible of schools and thus provide issues around which radicals can organize more moderate students in protest.

While the Viet Nam war, the draft, military research and recruiting on campus and black student demands provided the focus for most of the unrest in the past, the largest single cause of campus disturbances, according to the McClellan committee study, were issues involving college administration policy. This category covers a multitude of sins, including restrictive social regulations, overcrowded classes, admissions policy, antiquated course requirements and the dismissal of student opinion by administrators in making decisions which directly affect students.

It is the failure of college officials to accommodate legitimate student requests for change and innovation that makes it possible for student radicals to succeed in convincing others that the educational system is oppressive and that the only way change can take place is through confrontation. This factor, combined with the reluctance of all too many administrators to act firmly when disorders occur, increases the probability that this year on campus may be just as rough on the nervous systems of college presidents as the last one.

Apart from administrative ineptitude, the radical rebellion has been aided considerably by the lack of effective student opposition to it. When a crisis occurs, such as the capture of a building by SDS, the majority of students who are more concerned with gaining an education tend to sit back and expect the college officials to handle the situation. Their assumption is that the administration will act in the best interests of all students and the academic community as a whole.



Radical protesters set fire to street barricades prior to being dispersed by police during a demonstration at the Stanford Research Institute in Palo Alto, Calif., last spring. Stanford conservatives took over 550 photographs during the protest and turned them over to the police. As a result over 100 leftists have been arrested.

Unfortunately, the typical administrator is caught between capitulating to militant demands or calling upon outside authorities for help and alienating those students and faculty members who might otherwise be uncommitted. In previous periods of crisis, there have been precious few alternatives.

It is disheartening to note that the majority of the politically moderate or conservative students in college have been guilty of allowing the left to seize upon popular issues and permitting them to win over thousands of students to their cause without being challenged.

While effective conservative resistance has developed at such schools as Penn State, Stanford and Columbia, on campus after campus the radicals have succeeded in capturing the attention of the media, intimidating college officials and getting many of their demands met largely because there has been virtually no significant opposition from other students.

The failure of conservatives to take a more militant posture in coping with the threat posed by SDS and other radical groups may be due to the fact that most of them are preoccupied with the demands of classes or prefer to spend their time working for conservative candidates in election campaigns. For most of them, confronting the left on more than an ideological basis may be outside the realm of their experience, yet they can learn from the efforts of others. Many of the strategies and techniques described below can be used by even the smallest group of conservatives to effectively combat radical agitation.

Perhaps the simplest form of group opposition to the excesses of student radicals is the petition. If a conservative student organization such as the Young Republicans or Young Americans for Freedom (YAF) does nothing else when a serious disruption occurs, it can draw up and circulate a petition against the disturbance and attempt to get other students to sign it. Such an effort can be carried out by only a few students and have a positive effect during a period of crisis.

After a small band of SDS members had invaded a meeting of the Stanford Board of Trustees in January and forced its adjournment, a group of moderate students calling themselves the Committee for Communication on Campus circulated a petition criticizing SDS and condemning violence as an unacceptable means of change in the university community. Within less than five days the committee had gathered over 1,100 signatures and presented them to university President Kenneth Pitzer. Michigan State University received national attention when some 10,000 students at that school signed a petition attacking disruption, violence and intimidation on campus.

In order for a petition drive to be successful there are a couple of key points to keep in mind. The text of a petition should be written in such a manner so as to appeal to the greatest number of students and avoid a partisan flavor. Avoid taking a hard-line approach when formulating the wording. Unfortunately, most college students fall into the moderate or liberal category and they are not likely to become enthusiastic about signing a statement that sounds as if it were written by Douglas MacArthur.

The most successful petitions are moderate in tone, attack the tactics of violence and destruction and support the concepts of rational discussion and peaceful change. A petition will garner far more signatures if it makes an issue out of the tactics employed by the radicals rather than simply attacking them on ideology.

Petitions rarely have a long-range effect regardless of how many signatures they have, but they do serve to demonstrate during a period of disorder just how much of a minority the student disrupters really are.

Similarly, student referendums are also an effective measure for impressing administrators and the news media with the fact that the radicals' point of view is not representative of an entire student body. Only on the most radical of campuses, such as the University of California at Berkeley or San Francisco State, could a moderately worded resolution against violence and disruption fail in a general vote.

A referendum may be an excellent device for drawing out student opinion on other politically important issues too. Conservatives at Tulane and Stanford were successful during the last school year in winning referendums supporting the retention of accredited Reserve Officer Training Programs on their respective campuses. As with any successful political endeavor, impressive referendum victories require a clearly defined goal and good organization.

In a more militant spirit, counter-picketing of leftist rallies and demonstrations can be an extremely effective tactic in diverting attention away from the radicals and taking some of the steam out of their efforts.

A dramatic display of this approach took place at Stanford University last January when the local SDS chapter called for a noon rally in the Old Union courtyard for the purpose of organizing a disruption of the Applied Electronics Laboratory, an on-campus facility performing classified research for the federal government (see *Human Events,* March 15, 1969).

Before the start of the rally, a group of some 15 conservatives drawn from the local YAF and YR groups entered the courtyard carrying a variety of colorful picket signs and began chanting "Pigs off campus!" at the startled radicals who joined in enthusiastically until they realized that there were no police present.

Understandably miffed, the SDS members attempted to set up their sound equipment as the conservatives mockingly chanted, "Start the rally, start the rally!" Once it began, it was interrupted repeatedly by boos and heckling from the conservatives and other students angered by the SDS raising of a Viet Cong flag on campus the previous day.

At the end of the rally—marked by strident vocal opposition from the bulk of more than 500 students present—the radicals announced their plans to descend on the Applied Electronics Laboratory to "stop business as usual."

"Let's march!" an SDS leader shouted. "That's fine. March right into the bay!" retorted a conservative student with a bullhorn atop a nearby building. What the radicals did not count on was the militancy of their opponents. The conservatives rushed ahead of them to the laboratory and stationed themselves in front of the two main doors in an attempt to block the radicals from getting in. While a number of SDS members managed to climb through some open windows, the majority stood outside fuming as the coalition of conservatives and moderates remained at their positions waving their picket signs for the news photographers.

After 20 minutes the counter-demon-

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The presence of photographers at radical demonstrations irritates leftists. Above, Stanford YAF member Douglas Greene (left) tries to keep his camera from being grabbed by a member of the SDS during a radical protest. Assault and battery charges were later filed against the leftist.

stration ended when it had been determined that the doors to the lab were locked and that the radicals were reasonably frustrated. The entire sequence of events delighted many of the newsmen present, who thought they were going to end up covering the usual SDS rally and disruption. The Bay Area newspapers and television stations in their reports contrasted the conservative resistance at Stanford to the serious disorders occurring at other campuses such as Berkeley and San Francisco State. The story was picked up by the wire services and inspired some favorable editorial comment in various papers around the country. As Phil Luce says in his piece on the opposite page, to inspire press coverage you must do something interesting.

One important factor which enabled the Stanford conservatives to attract the attention of the news media as well as irritate SDS was the nature of their picket signs.

In order for picket signs to be effective, they must be lettered clearly with attention towards coloring and contrast. This is essential in order for the signs to show up well in grainy, black and white newspaper photos. Too, the slogans used on the signs should be clever and provocative while avoiding stereotyped cliches.

The slogans which carry the most impact are those which allude to the New Left's similarity with the Nazi movement in Germany. Lettering the "S's" in SDS in the form of a swastika or using the phrase "If You Liked Hitler, You'll Love SDS" drives the point across. Other slogans which the Stanford counter-protesters found effective were "SDS Is Revolting" and a picture of a hog with SDS stamped on it and the phrase "Today's Pig Is Tomorrow's Bacon" lettered around it.

The use of slogans, symbols and signs has too frequently been ignored by conservatives in their battle against the left. Symbols of various sorts have been adroitly exploited by radicals in the promotion of their philosophy while conservatives seem to be content with the old stand-bys.

Pacifist Bertrand Russell's inverted Y representing peace and nuclear disarmament is internationally recognized and on campuses across the country the raised clenched fist has come to be a symbol of radical militancy. Some moderate students at San Francisco State have taken Russell's peace button design and lettered "Peace On Campus" around it as a rebuttal to the violence and disruption taking place at their school.

Perhaps the most effective counter symbol against the left has been the simplest one. Last spring the California Young Americans for Freedom distributed nearly 250,000 small blue bottons to students and the general public up and down the state. The button carried no slogan, but symbolized the wearer's opposition to violence and coercion and his support for keeping college and high school campuses open in the face of radical disruption.

The response to the button campaign was overwhelming and the demand exceeded the expectations of California YAF officers. The buttons were displayed by a wide range of individuals, both on campus and off, and their popularity spread to New York and the East Coast.

On virtually every campus in America where building is taking place there are a number of wooden construction fences which provide perfect locations for politicized graffiti. All it takes is a can of paint and a brush to create an impressive political message.

Last spring, after Stanford radicals had occupied the Applied Electronics Laboratory for some four days without university President Kenneth Pitzer acting to remove them, conservatives went to work and on the construction fence in front of Encina Hall, the main administration building, painted in black letters two feet high, "Pitzer Is Gutless, Bring In Hayakawa."

The highly visible sign was an immediate sensation. Photographs of it appeared in the Los Angeles *Times*, the San Francisco *Chronicle* and the Palo Alto *Times* and it was used in background opening shots of television reports on the sit-in. The sign also proved to be an irritant to some administration officials who had it whitewashed by the next day. Strangely, they declined to cover up the sign on the fence adjacent to it which read, "SDS Uses Chemical Warfare: They Stink."

At the end of the lengthy student strike at San Francisco State an enterprising student hastened to paint the phrase "Reagan Has Won" on a campus construction fence. An equally enterprising news photographer happened to get a shot of one of the defeated strike leaders walking past it with the result that the picture appeared in papers all over California.

When Stanford's president finally moved to oust radicals from the building they had held for nine days, conservatives were quick to paint a more complimentary message on the same fence they had used before and the press again picked it up.

In selecting slogans or symbols to use it is important to consider what will attract the attention of the media and what will photograph well. If given the opportunity, most newspapers and television stations are more than happy to use photos or articles which illustrate student opposition to radical disruptions. The famous photo of an effigy representing SDS being burned by moderates at Harvard during the crisis there is an excellent example.

In addition to counter-picketing and sign painting, counter-rallies and counter-demonstrations also have a role to play in combating the left.

One of the more memorable conservative counter-rallies was held on the San Francisco State campus a few years ago during a period of large-scale anti-Viet Nam war marches and protests. The local radical Viet Nam Day Committee (VDC) had announced several weeks in advance their plans to hold a massive anti-war rally at S. F. State to be followed by a large protest march in Berkeley at night.

Given the advance warning, the campus YAF chapter quietly reserved State's only outdoor speaking facility, located in the heart of the school, and the amplification equipment for the same day that the leftists had planned to use it. The YAFers then proceeded to organize a pro-Viet Nam rally of their own, complete with rock and roll band and numerous prominent speakers, including Dr. Lewis Gann of the Hoover Institution and Republican Congressman Ed Foreman.

On the designated day, YAF enjoyed the field advantage of occupying the speaker's platform and possessing microphones and amplification equipment while the VDC, infuriated by having the conservatives out-maneuver them, were forced to hold their rally in another part of the campus.

The YAF rally, which was marked by attendance of over 1,000 at times and the dramatic helicopter arrival of YAF National Chairman Tom Huston, was surprisingly successful and, thanks to the competitive spirit of the conservatives, gave the students of the normally radical S. F. State an opportunity to hear another point of view on the issue of the Viet Nam war.

During the same year the S. F. State conservatives pulled off another publicity coup by holding a counter "sit-in" on campus in support of the Viet Nam war effort. At the time, a handful of radicals were attracting considerable news coverage and student attention by conducting a peaceful sit-in in the offices of the Air Force ROTC in protest against the war.

Much to the consternation of the dissidents, the YAFers moved in with bodies and placards, "sat in" directly across from them, satirized their protest, challenged them to debate and taunted them with verbal barbs. The conservatives, who took great pains to avoid breaking any regulations or interfering with the work of the office, were front-page news in the campus paper for four straight days until the termination of the protest.

The counter sit-in has also been used successfully by New York YAF members who peacefully "occupied" the Greenwich Village offices of SDS last fall and by Massachusetts YAFers who turned the tables on local leftists by using the same tactic. Although no laws were broken and no damage was done in either case, the right-wing "sit-ins" garnered a great deal of news coverage and demonstrated to the general public that there were a sizable number of students who opposed the excesses of young radicals.

One of the more dangerous strategies employed by conservatives to prevent the occupation of a campus building by radicals has been the physical blocking of doorways and entrances.

When radicals at Stanford, frustrated by their failure to win their demands after a nine-day demonstration at the Applied Electronics Laboratory, decided to up the ante and seize Encina Hall, YAF organized a group of some 30 students to sit down peacefully in front of the two main entrances in an attempt to prevent the leftists from entering. Stationed nearby were four conservative photographers ready to record any action which took place.

At about 1:00 a.m. on May 1, approximately 200 radicals rushed up the front steps of Encina only to be confronted by the small group of students blocking the entrances. The leftists began to violently pull away the students in front of the main door and smash their way into the building, while at the other entrance the conservatives held their ground by standing up and linking arms to prevent anyone from getting through.

While the YAFers were ultimately unsuccessful in preventing the occupation of Encina Hall and the damage that followed, their presence at the site of the break-in was invaluable in that they were able to serve as witnesses and victims to the acts of violence and destruction which occurred. In later disciplinary proceedings, the photographs taken by the conservative cameramen on the scene were used as evidence in convicting some of the radicals involved in the incident. As a result, 14 students were suspended from school and more than 35 were fined.

The physical blocking of radical attempts to seize a particular building or disrupt a school function has also been employed by Ohio State conservatives who thwarted a radical invasion of an auditorium where ROTC award ceremonies were taking place.

At Columbia University, the scene of major disturbances in the spring of 1968, the Students for Columbia (SCU), a politically moderate group, has also employed this tactic of counter-confrontation to frustrate the left. Last year SCU and another organization, Students for a Free Campus (SFC), heckled SDS rallies, blocked entrances to buildings, and at one point defended a classroom complex from radicals who were armed with chains and clubs.

While such counter-confrontation tactics are unlikely to be totally successful unless the conservatives enjoy an advantage of numbers over their opponents, they can have a deterrent effect in that radicals prefer to confront the authorities or the police rather than their fellow students.

Battling people from their own college tends to explode the myth of student solidarity which radicals love to perpetuate. Too, by having to face other students they are denied the opportunity to provoke the police to violence and instead are placed in the position of initiating the violence themselves as evidenced by the incidents at Stanford and Columbia. Thus, even if conservatives are unable to forestall a radical disruption they can blunt its impact significantly through the use of "counter-confrontation."

If a group chooses to employ these tactics it is important that all those individuals involved maintain a non-violent posture for as long as possible. Conservative or moderate students attempting to stymie the SDS should never be placed in the position of being responsible for any fighting or physical violence which might occur in a confrontation situation.

A legal adviser, either an attorney or a law student, should be present to warn the group of any law that it might potentially be in violation of or to counsel counter-demonstrators as to their rights.

If your group is going to try to stop leftists from breaking into a building, it is best to mass in front of as many doorways as you can and link arms all the way through the group. This makes it tougher for the radicals to drag or pull away people one by one and makes it more difficult for them to even reach the door than if the group is sitting down as individuals.

It is extremely effective if you can place any girls that are brave enough to join you at the front of the group. This is a favorite technique of radicals predicated on a belief that in demonstrations police are reluctant to manhandle women and if they are not, then the dissidents can scream "police brutality" when the females are arrested or forcibly moved. By having girls in the front of your group when blocking a doorway, you put the radicals in the same position that they usually place the police. It is also useful to have some friendly photographers ready to record any criminal acts which the leftists might commit.

The presence of cameras at a demonstration may actually initimidate militants from violating the law. If not, the photographs taken at the scene of a particularly violent or disruptive dem-

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The Battle for the Media

Although coverage is hard to come by, young conservatives should not give up

By PHILLIP ABBOTT LUCE

I'm angry. The term "angry young man" may be outdated, but anyone seriously considering the present campus turmoil must at some point get his dander up. In fact, one of the problems facing students throughout the nation is that far too many people have calmly and "objectively" watched the New Left bully boys rack up outrage upon outrage without bothering to roll up their own sleeves and wade into the battle.

In this past year I have been on campuses from Columbia to Stanford. I have talked with students at Vanderbilt and the University of Colorado. I have seen the great bearded mass at Berkeley and the crazies at New York University. Eldridge Cleaver challenged me to a duel before he pulled his disappearing act; Jerry Rubin, Tom Hayden and Robert Scheer have publicly exchanged words with me. All in all, I have probably seen as much of the American university scene this past year as those New Leftists who make a profession of disseminating misinformation from campus to campus.

I spent most of the past year in California experiencing at first-hand the counter-attack on the New Left. I had the unique opportunity to participate in the campus fight-back. I shared the frustration of my conservative comrades who daily battle the left on their campuses. And this is exactly what makes me so damn angry.

Day after day I get a bit more frustrated because I read the newspapers and watch what passes for news programs on national television. Every day I see the slick magazines and the liberal journals give their accounts of student discontent and New Left riots. And the more I read and the more I watch the mental meanderings of Huntley, Brinkley and Cronkite the more I realize that "managed news" is apparently the only "news fit to print."

I'm angry because I know that what the press is reporting about our campuses is not simply one-dimensional but "managed" so as to distort what is really happening with students across the country. I'm angry because I have seen young students stand up to the New Left gangsters and either beat them back or suffer their own heads to be bloodied in an attempt to repulse these bandits. Yet these students never receive a shred of coverage in the mass media.

I'm incensed because when the exalted media finally does graciously mention the fight-back against the New Leftists it might merit one paragraph near the end of an article. Or worse, the young people who are standing up for freedom on the campuses are called vigilantes by the press corps.

I know, just as young students across the contry know, there is one hell of a fight taking place on our campuses. To be specific, students are fed up with the terror tactics of the New Leftists and the wishy-washy, knee-jerk liberalism of administrators who would rather hide under their desks than take any significant action against those people trying to burn down their offices.

The battle for the campuses is real and nationwide. However, anyone watching television or reading his evening paper won't realize this because the media doesn't consider the counterattack worthy news.

California is a good state to consider. The New Left zealots have been using this state for years as a training ground for agitators and a tactical proving ground for violent confrontations with anyone who disagrees with their brand of political totalitarianism. There is hardly a university or state college in California that has escaped some form of New Left outrage.

Nationwide we have heard about the violence at Berkeley, San Francisco State and Stanford. Let one Red Guard hippie make an outrageous statement and the news media stumbles over itself in an attempt to capture his outrageous rhetoric for public consumption. And if the revolutionary spokesman happens to be a black person the media is ecstatic in attempting to publicize the demand. Their credo: The more outrageous the event, the more fit the news.

In case a member of the mass media establishment happens to be subversive enough to read *Human Events*, allow me to tell a "secret" that should trip him out of his stereotype of student life: In California, and throughout the length and breadth of this country, there is a student "conspiracy" determined to destroy the myth of the New Left. There is a student revolution taking place under your upturned nose. This conservative-libertarian revolution is no longer going to be ignored.

This student subversion is being organized by an existing hard-core organization. Yes, that's right, there are people on the campuses all over this country organizing and battling the New Left. One organization is the Young Americans for Freedom (YAF) and we are something more than ghost-like images that can be written off in paragraph 14 as a "few conservatives" or "vigilantes."

While the mass media was busily conditioning everyone into the belief that the New Leftists controlled the campuses, the real revolution was taking place behind the blurred vision of our trend-setting reporters. For the past year young YAF members across this nation have been confronting and stopping the New Left on campus after campus. But because we have tried to defend private property, free speech, "open recruiting" and student freedom we have apparently not been "fit" for news coverage.

This does not mean that on occasion the student counterattack hasn't managed to slip into the press. It is possible to find a note or two about the students that have stood up against the left wing in local papers, but the problem is in making the jump from local news to national news.

The recent national convention of Young Americans for Freedom held in St. Louis, Mo., over the Labor Day weekend is a good case in point. Newspapers across the nation carried wire stories concerning the fact that over 1,000 student activists had attended the convention and vowed a legal and educational attack on the left-wing barbarians. The convention even got a moment's notice on the network television shows (complete with expected sarcasm). *Newsweek* had a man at the convention, but I defy you to find one mention of the YAF affair in that vaunted magazine. Perhaps we frightened off the liberal press by taking hard-core stands on Viet Nam and the university crisis.

My anger, however, has not carried over into disillusionment. I still think that we can beat the liberal press at its own game. The more and more pressure we put on the kindergarten left, the cynical facade of liberal reporting has ultimately got to break down. At some point the media has to accept the fact that students are fighting the left wing and winning.

This naturally leads me to consider our relations with the press. Few people would today disagree with the concept that media coverage is vital to any serious political movement. After all, if the SDS did not have the press it would have very little going for it on the campuses.

Young conservatives should begin a calculated program to better their relations with the local press and media in their immediate area. The major networks are almost abstract quantities and little work can be done to establish a direct liaison with them. Still, the local press and media can be of considerable help in both elevating your group in the public's mind and in furthering your goal of education and action.

One of the first things to be done is the establishment of a local directory of newsmen and television and radio broadcasters. Once this list is completed an attempt should be made to include them whenever you are contemplating a project. Write them, call them and by all means send them a press release regarding your specific program. A press release is vital, but it should be followed up with a phone call because releases have a way of getting lost in a busy office.

If your locality has a local talk show you should endeavor to have a spokesman from your group attend the show as often as possible. You should also have articulate spokesmen call the show when an opposition personality appears.

After you have established contact with the local press and media you will discover that some contacts are more interested than others regarding your conservative outlook. These newsmen should henceforth be called whenever you have something important to contribute to the news.

Local press contacts are important and nothing should be planned without including a release and phone calls to them. The press will cover local stories of interest and it is your responsibility to create the interest.

As Harvey Hukari mentions in his article, California YAF's blue button campaign has been enormously successful. The local coverage given the blue button project was excellent and included a favorable editorial in the Los Angeles *Herald Examiner*. It's discouraging to realize that had the SDS distributed 200 "Happy Hanoi" buttons they would have gained a 15-minute sponsored spot on national television, a page in *Newsweek* and an essay in *Time*. And yet the coverage we did manage in the media helped the campaign greatly.

At least we know that it is possible to make inroads in the local press and media. The fact that we are usually ignored by the "big-time" boys is discouraging but not disastrous. We have to work with what we know we have and we have to push just that much harder to try to crack the censorship curtain.

The real key in all dealings with the press is not to give up because of the censorship. We have to struggle and to know that ultimately we will gain some victories. If you are ignored this month, then you must devise new techniques to gain the attention of the press next month.

There is good reason to believe that many local newspapermen and television reporters are growing concerned with the overemphasis that the national media has been paying to the disruptive actions of the student left-wingers. These newsmen are now attempting to "balance the news" by giving conservative students an even break. This should be especially helpful to student conservatives operating in an area of strong left-wing activism.

If you are a young person attempting to battle for sanity on your campus, then the press is a vital tactical tool that should be utilized. The spirit of conservatism is growing on the campuses and if we struggle and dare to win, the press can no longer afford to ignore us through censorship.

Demonstrating the need for patriotic counter-action against campus militants, Harvey Hukari confronts SDSers at Stanford, one conservative event which did gain nationwide publicity.

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Conservative Students Use Various Slogans

In the struggle against the left, conservative campus activists have employed a variety of slogans on picket signs and buttons. Below are some of the more popular ones that have been used:

Anti-Communist, Viet Nam War Slogans:

- PEACE THROUGH VICTORY, VICTORY THROUGH STRENGTH
- "IN WAR THERE IS NO SUBSTITUTE FOR VICTORY"—GEN. MacARTHUR
- PAVE HANOI
- WHY NOT VICTORY?
- NO MORE MUNICHS—WIN IN VIET NAM!
- TELL IT TO HANOI
- YOU CAN CO-EXIST WITH CANCER TILL IT KILLS YOU
- IS RUSSIA MELLOWING? CZECH THE RECORD
- MOSCOW TANKS YOU

Anti-Radical Slogans:

- MY GOD IS ALIVE, SORRY ABOUT YOURS
- IF YOU LIKED HITLER, YOU'LL LOVE SDS
- THE NEW LEFT IS REVOLTING
- DON'T LET SDS BSU
- SDS USES CHEMICAL WARFARE, THEY STINK!
- EAT A GRAPE FOR FREEDOM
- SING AND DANCE THE NEW DEAL AWAY. . . .
- EAT GRAPES, THE FORBIDDEN FRUIT
- END MAIL CENSORSHIP, SELL THE POST OFFICE
- GO TO COLLEGE, LEARN TO RIOT
- HOSS CARTWRIGHT IS A BUSYBODY
- HITLER IS ALIVE AND WELL IN HAVANA
- JOHN WAYNE FOR SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
- WHAT IF THEY GAVE A RIOT AND NOBODY CAME?

Campaigning Against Left-Run Student Governments:

- WHY PAY FOR THEIR POWER TRIPS?
- WHAT WOULD WE DO WITHOUT STUDENT GOVERNMENT? (ANYTHING WE WANT)
- ROOT THE RADS OUT!

(Continued from Page 14)

onstration can be used by the authorities in prosecuting the offenders.

When leftists at Stanford carried their protests beyond the realm of campus and into the streets of Palo Alto, YAF organized teams of photographers to cover the demonstrations. They set up a command post in a Volkswagen bus across the street from the site of the protests, the Stanford Research Institute, and stocked it with food and quantities of extra film. Cameramen were dispatched to a number of crucial vantage points, including rooftops, and into the mob itself to photograph the action.

The photographers who were sent out into the crowd were accompanied by at least two other students whose job was to protect the cameramen from angered militants. The radicals used a variety of methods in attempting to prevent any pictures from being taken. Roughing up photographers, stealing their film, squirting liquid from plastic bottles onto cameras and wearing gloves smeared with Vaseline and then trying to blur the lens of any camera they could reach were the favorites.

After breaking $10,000 worth of windows at the research institute, physically preventing employes of the institute from getting to their jobs, blocking traffic during the morning rush hour on one of Palo Alto's major thoroughfares and creating the largest traffic jam in the history of Santa Clara County, the 400 radicals involved in the demonstration scattered when confronted by tear gas and police in riot gear. The YAFers then went to work processing the more than 500 photos which they had taken and identifying the radicals in them. The results were turned over to the Palo Alto Police Department for their use in apprehending the radicals who had broken the law.

Due to the cooperation between the conservatives and the police, over 100 radicals were arrested, more than 400 different charges have been filed and the leftists have had to post some $40,000 in bail money. The cost to the YAFers was not light. Four assault and battery charges were filed against different radicals for manhandling photographers and one camerman suffered a broken wrist in the fracas.

While the use of photography as a weapon against radical disrupters on campus and elsewhere has tremendous potential effectiveness, the most awesome weapon is the force of the law itself.

One of the more popular legal armaments for college administrations has been the court injunction. In most cases it has the effect of placing a restraining order on individual radicals or groups from engaging in disruptive acts. Any violation of its provisions is contempt of court. Columbia, Fordham and Stanford are among those institutions which have turned to the injunction to handle student militants. The injunctions are usually enforced by local or state authorities and after a court hearing can be made permanent, thus effectively hindering radicals from disturbing classes or occupying buildings without running the risk of being punished by more than campus disciplinary procedures.

When the SDS chapter at Penn State attempted to block military recruiting in the student union, individual members of the campus YAF group obtained a court injunction to stop them. Earlier in the year, Penn State YAF had threatened to sue the school administration if it did not take steps to see that order was maintained on campus.

In a telegram to university President Eric A. Walker, YAF stated: "By accepting our tuition, this university has entered into a contract with us. . . . If the actions of a belligerent minority deny us our rights by interrupting classes, we will bring suit if necessary to have the university live up to its contractual obligations."

The national office of YAF has announced its own legal offensive against the left on campus. It is preparing a comprehensive legal defense kit to help chapters enlist the aid of sympathetic attorneys in halting the spread of leftist violence and disruption.

The purpose of the kit is to enable local YAF groups to bring to court those demonstrators who violate the civil rights of other students and to take action against those college administrators who do not live up to their responsibilities to keep classrooms open and to maintain an academic environment. At the University of Hawaii YAF has already opened up the legal offensive by challenging the administration on its decision to close the school on the October 15 Viet Nam Moratorium.

The use of petitions, referendums, rallies, picketing, sit-ins, counter-confrontations and legal injunctions are tactics whose principle orientation is defensive *in* that they are usually employed in response to some form of leftist agitation. If conservatives expect to be able to effectively counter campus radicalism in the future, they must begin to take the offensive in seizing upon issues and ideas which relate to the concerns of all students.

The success of radical groups like SDS is partially attributable to the fact that they are able to sell their philosophy and goals by championing causes which are often related to the common interests of students and young people. Too frequently it is the radicals who are in the forefront of the push for legitimate changes and reforms in the quality of higher education in America. It is the radical who challenges teachers who don't really teach. It is SDS and not YAF or the YRs that other students see as fighting for the elimination of some of the more onerous and outdated restrictions and regulations which flow from the liberal-dominated academic bureaucracies. Inequities of Selective Service and even the draft itself can be fought by those libertarian Conservative students who agree with Ronald Reagan, Barry Goldwater and the late Sen. Robert A. Taft that the draft should be abolished.

In sum, conservatives will never be truly successful in combating the roots of campus radicalism until they become involved with not only their own politics of working to elect public officials but the politics of youth as well.

While Young Americans for Freedom has testified before Congress in favor of abolishing the draft and establishing a volunteer Army and published brochures and literature to back up its stand, the bulk of young conservatives who favor this position have, unlike the left, failed to exploit the political potential of an issue which is responsible for more dissatisfaction with and disaffection from our nation's leadership than any other, save the Viet Nam war.

As has been pointed out by a number of studies, including the one produced by the 22 Republican congressmen who toured college campuses this last spring, there are a lot of things wrong with American higher education. All of them are things which conservative and moderate students have as much reason to be concerned about as radicals.

The depersonalization of the individual by the very size and complexity of our large universities, the teaching of courses by graduate students who are replacing professors who would rather do research than instruct classes and the lack of diversity and relevance in so many courses and departments are problems which conservatives can work to solve by putting pressure on college officials in a variety of peaceful ways. They can organize or join educational reform groups which are concerned with meaningful change rather than confrontation.

Conservatives can air their legitimate grievances in hopes of bringing them to the attention of those in positions of responsibility. At Stanford, a coalition of YAF and YR members presented a series of requests to the university administration that related to the needs and interests of conservative and moderate students on campus. Among them was a proposal that more conservative professors be hired in order to repair the imbalance in political and philosophical perspectives that existed in many of the departments such as political science, history, economics and philosophy.

But liberal or leftist domination of the faculty is not a unique characteristic of Stanford. It exists at the vast majority of colleges and universities where the faculty of a certain department screens applicants to fill vacancies and ultimately selects only those replacements whose views and opinions conform to the general tone of the department. Conservatives are the first to fall victim to that kind of discrimination and thus conservative academicians tend to cluster in various schools where they can feel welcome, such as Claremont College, the University of Dallas and the economics department of the University of Chicago.

Conservative students can attack liberal administrations for their failure to provide for diversity and relevance by not maintaining an environment in which all points of view can be expressed and evaluated. The tragedy is that when radicals are agitating for reform, conservatives usually wind up defending the academic establishment simply out of gut reaction to the excesses of radical militants. What conservatives should be doing is criticizing very harshly the liberal administrators who are responsible for many of the problems while at the same time working through the "system" to rectify them.

In dealing with all these issues, conservatives are going to have to become involved more and more with student affairs, join faculty-student committees and start working in student government. They are going to have to become serious about putting into practice their philosophy of freedom.

Educating the campus by working on the student newspaper is one way to begin. If the student paper is controlled by liberals or leftists, then conservatives can do as others have done and start their own paper. The University of Wisconsin, the University of California at Davis and Stanford are among those schools which presently boast conservative newspapers in competition with left-liberal ones. It all demands commitment of time and energy, but that commitment is necessary if change is going to take place.

In order to improve the condition of higher education in this country and to re-orient the direction of student thinking, conservatives on campus must be as consistently pro-freedom in their conduct as they are anti-radical. Through their positive actions conservatives can demonstrate to timorous college presidents and an increasingly distraught public that not all students have been seduced by the sophistry and deceit of the left.

By achieving peaceful, constructive change, they can show other young people that the solutions to our problems do not lie in violence and revolution. And if they can do all that, then future academic years may be far more tranquil and productive for everyone, both on campus and off.

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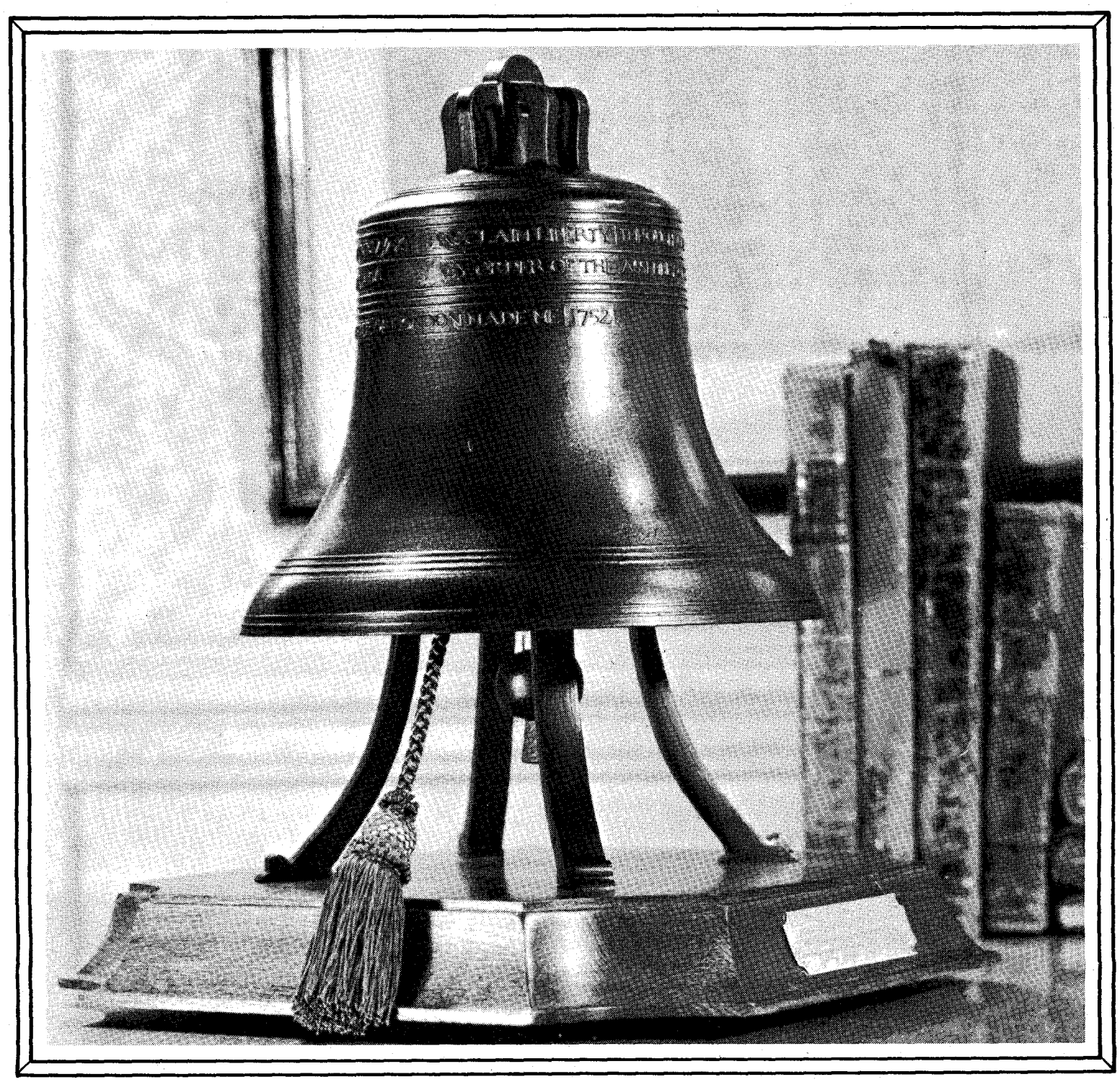

The Liberty Bell

To commemorate the 200th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence in 1976, the famous Whitechapel Bell Foundry of London (the same bellmakers who cast the original Liberty Bell) is casting a limited number of bicentenary Liberty Bells to the original design and on the original site. The purchase price is $875, inclusive of duty, plus a small charge for crating and delivery.

In 1751, the Province of Pennsylvania had a policy of individual freedom that much influenced the other colonies. It was fitting that when the Assembly of the Province decided to order a bell, they asked that on the bell's shoulder be inscribed the words from Leviticus, "Proclaim liberty throughout the land unto all the inhabitants thereof." Thomas Lester's Whitechapel Foundry in London was chosen to cast the bell, and in Sept. 1752 it arrived in America. Philadelphians gathered in the State House yard to hear it ring out. It cracked, however, upon the first strike, apparently as the result of mishandling on the hazardous sea voyage. In 400 years it was to be the only bell from Whitechapel's to have so cracked! But the bell was re-cast and hung in the tower and for the next 20 years it would ring out on the burning issues of the day. It proclaimed George III. It tolled the "death of liberty" with the Stamp Act. And finally in July of 1776 it rang in the Declaration of Independence. Now the bell was part of American history. Since then it has pealed forth great news, from Cornwallis' surrender in 1781 to D-Day in 1944.

The Bicentenary bells are exact in every particular to that cast in 1752 by Whitechapel's master founder, Thomas Lester, for the State House of Pennsylvania (now called Independence Hall). In fact, some of the descendants of the original bellmakers who cast the first Liberty Bell are engaged in the work of hand casting the replicas. The Whitechapel Bell Foundry was founded in 1570 during the reign of Queen Elizabeth I. Many of its earliest bells are still in existence, including two bells at Westminster Abbey cast in 1583 and 1598. Among the recent bells from Whitechapel are those of Washington Cathedral, hung in 1964. The bells of Big Ben, which towers over the Houses of Parliament, were also cast at Whitechapel.

Each bell — black, like the 1752 bell — will be made to the scale of one-fifth of the original, weigh approximately 20 pounds and stand 13½ inches high with the base. The plinth is hand carved from oak grown in Windsor Forest. The replica will be made in the manner of the original Liberty Bell and will carry the quotation from Leviticus inscribed on a silver plaque in the type face used by the original bellfounder, Thomas Lester. The silver plate is fashioned from fine English solid silver. Also, an additional optional silver plaque will carry the personal inscription of the subscriber. The clapper, drawn into a hand grip with a tasseled cord, strikes the walls of the bell and causes it to ring a perfectly tuned note at each stroke. Each bell has been meticulously tuned (actually five partial tones are tuned together) to its final and perfect pitch. In only one particular will the bicentenary bell, save for its size, differ from the bell now in Philadelphia. The bell will have no crack. It will sing its song as magnificently as the original Liberty Bell did when Lester tested it before it left London. In this way the ancient and historic contract between London and Philadelphia is fulfilled.

Only 2400 bells will be cast — each bell thus symbolically representing a separate month of independence. WHEN THE LIMITED EDITION IS COMPLETED, THE MOULDS WILL BE DESTROYED. Like most limited editions, these bells are already becoming collectors' items. Consequently, they should increase substantially in value, with the greatest appreciation occurring on those with the lower numbers.

Indeed, the Liberty Bell is an heirloom and tradition to be preserved by generations of your family, symbolic of American independence and individual freedom. You may order a bell by sending a check for $875, or, if you prefer, a $100 deposit, to Liberty Bell Limited Edition, 4300 Prudential Tower, Boston, Mass. 02199. Upon receipt of your order, you will be promptly informed of the reservation for the casting of the bell allocated to you. Bells are numbered in sequence as orders are received.

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The State's Sphere Is Not the Church's

If the church could redefine her sphere, she might recover her mission

By ALBERT J. LINDSEY

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Perhaps there is no one subject more commonly relevant to both religious and political circles than that of the relationship between Church and state.

Different approaches to the subject of Church-state relations have been taken by different persons throughout the history of the United States. For instance, some three hundred years ago Roger Williams manifested great concern that the Church and the believing Christian be protected from the state; whereas Thomas Jefferson wished to see that the state should always be protected from the Church.

History seems to reveal four periods of Church-state relationships. In the first, the early Church was for three centuries confronted with a very hostile state. The second period commenced with the conversion of Constantine and lasted some 10 centuries during which the alliance between Church and state became closer and closer. The third period was ushered in with the rise of nationalism, during which period the state became absolute. This period lasted a relatively short time and was modified from the latter part of the 17th Century as the Church once again regained her independence from the state.

There can be no doubt that in the present time we are witnessing another period of transition as the Protestant Church of our day seeks to invade the civil sphere. At the same time, civil government is moving to eradicate Church influence altogether.

The modern invasion of the Church into civil affairs dates back to the Federal Council of Churches, founded in 1908. One needs only a casual knowledge of the pronouncements of the Federal Council, and of its successor, the National Council of Churches, to realize the depth of the inroads which churchmen have attempted to make into the civil sphere.

The state, on the other hand, represented by well-known Supreme Court rulings, has obviously been anxious to divorce the public life of the nation as far as possible from anything that is religious.

Complicating the whole picture today is the shift in modern theology which has equated the Gospel with social, economic and political well-being; and the mission of the Church with social, economic and political action.

Collision Course

If the Church believes that politics is its business, while the state believes that the Church should stay out of politics, the two obviously are bent on a collision course. We are feeling the effects of this awkward conflict in the pressures, protests and demonstrations through which churchmen seek to influence government; while government, for its part, tries to maintain law and order without seeming to meddle in the Church.

In the Psalms we read, "Blessed is the nation whose God is the Lord" [*Psa. 33:12*]. But does this mean, as some churchmen interpret it to mean, that the Church can impose its will upon the secular culture with any hope of success?

The Scripture suggests, and we have traditionally believed, that there are two distinct jurisdictions, that of the Church and that of the state. These two differ radically in their origin, in their composition, in their aims, in their laws, in their sources of authority and in their extent.

The New Testament clearly teaches, and history clearly reveals, that much harm results when the line of demarcation between Church and state is not kept inviolate.

If you are interested in a Biblical study of the matter, I suggest that you go to the 12th and 13th chapters of *Romans*. There we have outlined the contrasting spheres of Church and state. In the 12th chapter the Church is described and the descriptive word is *love*. In the 13th chapter the state is described and the descriptive word is *force*.

Power of the State

Observing the government of the Church you read such things as this: "So we, being many, are one body in Christ" [*Rom. 12:5*]. Concerning the duties of the Church you meet such words as, "ministering, teaching, exhorting, giving, showing mercy." There is nothing of the civil sphere in this: "Abhor that which is evil, cleave to that which is good. . .continue instant in prayer. . .overcome evil with good."

When you come to the 13th chapter of *Romans*, the picture changes. There we read, "For there is no power, but of God: the powers that be are ordained of God" [*Rom. 13:1*]. The state is said to mete out judgment, it bears the sword, it terrorizes evil doers, it executes wrath upon him that is evil in his works, it is a revenger. Over and over again the disciplinary power of the state is mentioned.

Here, then, is the truth—God is sovereign among the nations, but Christ is the Head of the Church. Each sphere is instituted for a different purpose and dominated by a different approach to human behavior.

For instance, if you were to try to apply the teachings of *Romans 12* to the state you would have chaos. If you tried to adopt the rules of *Romans 13* for the Church you also would have chaos.

If the state should attempt to operate by offering a cloak for every stolen cloak, by going two miles whenever compelled to go one, by blessing those who riot and ardently praying for murderers and rapists, there would be civil chaos. And if the Church should try to jail the erring brother or to take to the scaffold the heretic, you would also have chaos.

It is not without significance that in *Romans 13* the civil government is said to come from God as the moral Governor of the universe. It is not derived from Christ as the Mediator. And, if we remember the Apostle's words to Timothy, the Christian owes a moral and legal duty to the state. Why? "That we may lead a quiet and peaceable life" [*1 Tim. 2:1-2*].

The Church, on the other hand, is a divine institution in a different sense. The distinction is that difference between the kingdom of Caesar and that of Jesus Christ [*Matt. 22:21*] Observe how carefully the Lord Jesus made the distinction between the political and the spiritual realms. He spoke of two distinct domains, two independent authorities. It was not "God *or* Caesar," as though one might be chosen, or the other, for a complete whole. It was "God *and* Caesar"—both belonging to human responsibility.

When Jesus Christ stood before Pilate and was asked if He was the king of the Jews, He answered in the affirmative, but carefully delineated the truth by adding, "My kingdom is not of this world" [*John 18:36*]. Listen to what else He said: "Thou sayest that I am a king. To this end was I born and for this cause came I into the world." There is the contrast between the temporal and the spiritual kingdoms.

Notice the distinction between the jurisdictions of Church and state according to the Bible. As the state's jurisdiction extends only to its own citizens, so the Church's jurisdiction extends only to its members. Paul speaks of this when he deplores the fact that the Corinthians had gone to law against each other: "For what have I to do to judge them also that are without? Do not ye judge them that are within?" [*I Cor. 5:12*]. It is only those who make a profession of the Gospel who are under the discipline and judgment of the Church.

The Church clearly steps out of her proper sphere when she attempts to bring the whole mass of unconverted mankind into subjection to spiritual laws. A political example of such an effort was the experiment with prohibition. I would not want to complicate our train of thought at this point with a discussion of the evil of alcohol, but rather suggest that we nearly all agree that in the experiment with prohibition the Church went beyond her proper jurisdiction.

Invasion of Civil Affairs

In brief, the state finds its origin in God as moral Governor; the Church finds its origin in the redemptive act of Christ as Redeemer. The state operates in the realm of common grace; the Church operates in the realm of special grace. The state looks after the material welfare of its people; the Church derives its laws from God's revelation of Himself in His Word.

Today the modern Church justifies her invasion into the political, economic and social spheres on the ground of the Lordship of Christ. The Church says, is not Jesus Christ Lord of all? Yes, He is. But His kingdom over the nations is not of the same order as His lordship over the Church. The one is associated with discipline; the other is associated with fellowship. Under no circumstances does the Scripture justify, on the grounds of Christ's kingship, the Church's own invasion of civil affairs!

It is not without significance that the duties of church officers, as enumerated in various passages in the New Testiment, do not include anything remotely political. Officers the Church has indeed, but they are "for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ" (*Eph. 4:12*). Their functions, in other words, are limited to nurturing and building the body of Christ.

Let us not misunderstand! The individual believing Christian has a relationship to the state as a member of it, and a vital responsibility as a citizen. But the Church of Jesus Christ should not in any way try to supplant the position or the function of the state.

Interference with the State

There is no quicker way for the Church to lose her impact upon the world and her influence in society than by stepping out of character and trying to take over the functions of the state.

The effect invariably is a decline in both public and private morality. Somehow when the Church stops being the Church and tries to extend her influence for the public good, the very good that she seeks becomes elusive. The only way she can truly be the salt of the earth is by carefully guarding her "savor" [*Matt. 5:13*].

Let the Church concentrate on her calling to bring the knowledge of the Lord Jesus Christ to men through the Gospel, and there will be social, political and economic effects. But let the Church seek the equal distribution of wealth, minimum wage legislation, cultural exchanges among the nations, reciprocal trade agreements, international disarmament—and somehow she not only fails in the political sphere, she also becomes a failure in the spiritual sphere.

I remember a story which a friend of mine told of an experience he had in Union Station in Chicago. A little newsboy, with his arms filled with newspapers, was crying. My friend put his hands on the little fellow's head and asked, "What's the matter, sonny?" In the midst of his sobs the boy replied, "Mister, I have lost my *holler*."

My friend realized that the boy couldn't read the headlines and he had forgotten what he was supposed to *holler*. So he picked a good one and read it to the boy. The smile returned to the lad's face and he went through the station with his *holler*, crying the sale of his newspapers.

I say that story reminds me of the Church of today. In many ways the Church has lost its *holler*—its God-given cry. Let us pray and work that the Church may recover its message: "Prepare to meet thy God!" Nothing is more urgent than the Gospel, and nothing is more timely.

□□□

NEW POINT OF VIEW—"Some of the nation's employers may find amusement in the fact that the National Labor Relations Board is embroiled in labor troubles all its very own. The NLRB Professional Employees' union has been trying for eight months to negotiate a new contract with the board. At a recent session the talks broke up on a bitter note when, according to the labor organization, an NLRB official told the union representatives: 'It is only the board's Christian charity that allows some of you to remain as employes here.' Any employer who assumed that this meant a shift of the board's usual pro-union stance probably would be much too hasty. It's just that anyone is likely to see things a bit differently when his own ox is gored."—From the *Wall Street Journal*

The author is the long-time pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, Tacoma, Wash.

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Church Funds for Separatism

From the Richmond *News Leader*

In a letter to this newspaper a local Episcopalian expresses some dismay about a $45,000 grant made by the national Episcopal Church to Malcolm X Liberation University in Durham, N.C. This dismay is not unwarranted, for the Malcolm X Liberation University has little to commend it as a worthy recipient of funds from the national Episcopal Church, or from any other body.

The head of the university is Howard Fuller, a black radical long associated with activist causes in North Carolina. Under the guise of a community organizer, he has achieved more than a mild measure of notoriety as a racial agitator in the Tar Heel State. His name appears among the list of those chosen by James Forman to serve on the steering committee of the Black Manifesto.

Fuller pursued most of his militant activities while on the payroll, as training director, of the Foundation for Community Development, an anti-poverty agency in Durham. Whenever protest marches or other demonstrations were held in the area, Fuller was right there in the forefront.

In March 1968 he was arrested for assaulting an officer during a protest rally. His activities drew so much criticism upon the foundation that he had to take an indefinite leave of absence before the Office of Economic Opportunity would clear a $900,000 grant for the foundation to continue its anti-poverty program.

Fuller used the excuse of starting the Malcolm X Liberation University to justify his leave of absence from the foundation. "We must face reality," *he said about the university.* "I am most definitely espousing a black separatist philosophy. MXLU must provide a relevant education that will fit the needs of black people, which most often are not the same needs of white people. Racist whites are brutally imposing separatism upon blacks. This time around, it's gong to be defined by black people."

He plans to train young Negroes in black history, black culture and black awareness, as if these courses in black studies were not routinely available elsewhere.

Ah, but Fuller has more ambitious plans for his students: He wants them to become qualified to become community leaders, and then to be able to assume leadership in a black separatist nation in Africa. When the university opened last week, a total of 35 students showed up to enroll. The university has no accreditation, so it will offer no degrees.

This is the "university," an educational facility in name only, that Episcopal leaders have chosen to finance with $45,000 from the church's $9-million "Urban Crisis Program."

Fuller clearly intends to pursue a separatist cause, and this will be the theme of any studies taught at the institution he heads. His record shows that his theory of community organization consists of community disruption, and he now has 35 students to educate in that theory.

Thus, instead of easing urban tensions and reducing the racial polarization that increases at headlong pace in America today, the Episcopal Church has chosen to pour $45,000 into a program that will do neither. Any number of worthy projects to improve conditions for the Negro could be found in any number of cities in the nation, but apparently the national Episcopal Church prefers to finance the most radical projects that can be found.

This is not brotherhood, nor Christian charity, but sheer lunacy. Small wonder that the parishioner who wrote us wonders how long the Episcopal Church can continue without critical—and irremedial—divisions between leadership and laity.

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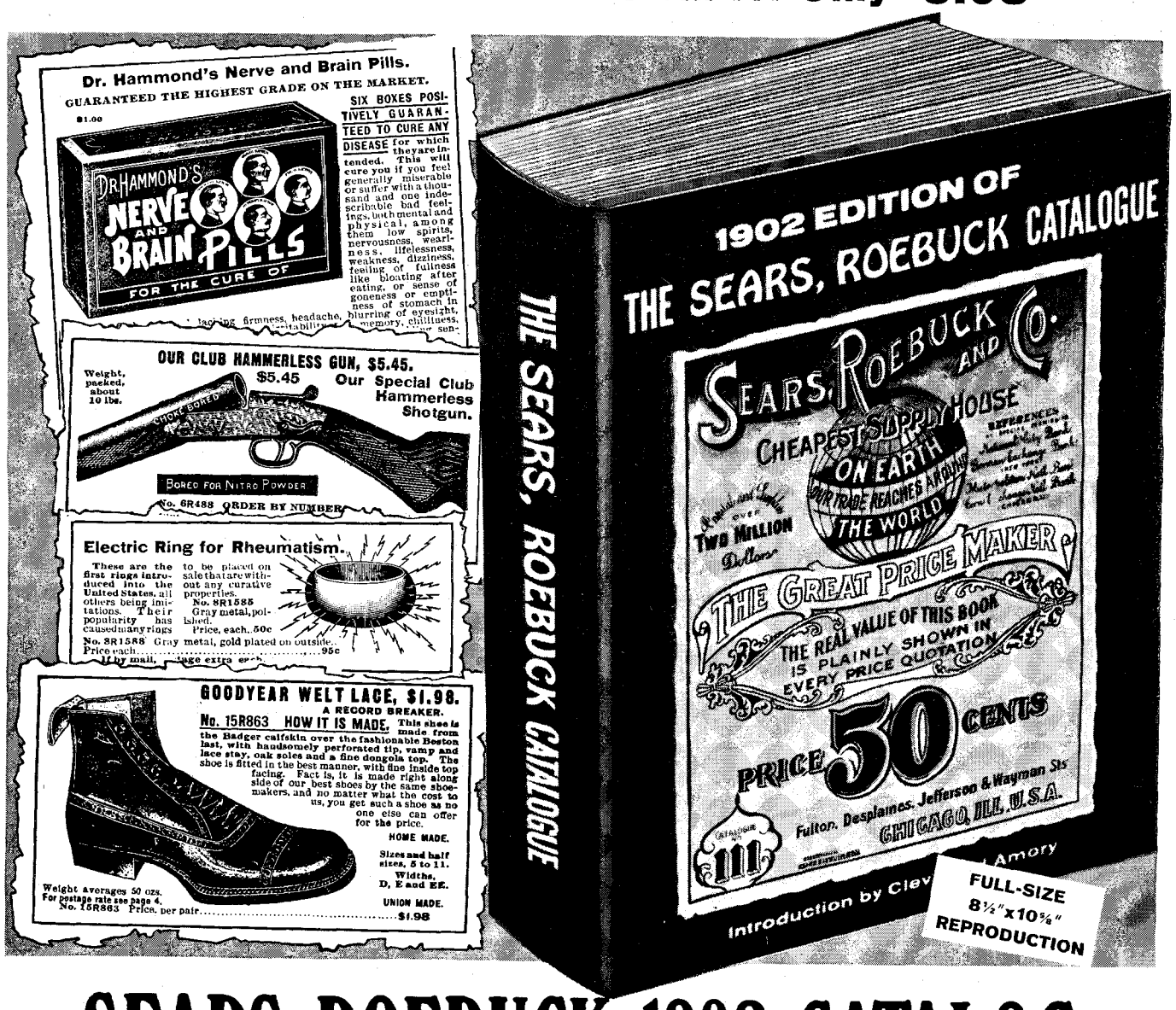
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Why Not Due Process for U.S. Business?

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

The "Warren Court," which happily is no more, was always extremely solicitous of guaranteeing the mystic thing known as "due process of law" to criminals. The court's decisions in *Escobedo vs. Illinois* (which established the right of a suspect to remain mum until he had consulted a lawyer) and *Miranda vs. Arizona* (which insisted that the police inform an arrested person that he need not answer even the simplest questions) have been criticized for giving protection to the individual at the expense of society.

Whether this concern for the rights of suspects has undermined police morale, as Richard Nixon seemed to think when he was still only a presidential aspirant, *Escobedo vs. Illinois* and *Miranda vs. Arizona* will probably stand up for a while even though the "Warren Court" is in process of being reconstituted.

But what of "due process" as it is applied to U.S. business? Between 1953 and 1967 the government took a total of 45 anti-trust cases to the Supreme Court. It won 42 of them. As Justice Potter Stewart put it, "In anti-trust the government always wins." And in the winning, the rules prescribing "due process of law" have sometimes been honored in the breach, not in the observance.

The layman must be forever mystified by the reasoning in certain anti-trust cases. When Youngstown Steel was denied the right to merge with Bethlehem Steel on the ground that it might decrease competition, it made neither economic nor logical sense. Youngstown's plants were all in the Middle West, and a combination with Bethlehem would have enabled the latter company to compete more effectively with huge U.S. Steel in the Chicago region without affecting competition on the Atlantic seaboard.

An even stranger case is the one in which the Supreme Court has ruled against the merger of the El Paso Natural Gas Co. and the Pacific Northwest Pipeline Corp. after the Federal Power Commission, which is supposed to have regulatory jurisdiction over gas pipelines, had cleared the transaction.

The El Paso case is incredibly complex. When the company merged 10 years ago with Pacific Northwest, the idea was that the hook-up would help make natural gas from the Southwest more cheaply available to people in the state of Washington. But the Supreme Court ruled that, since Pacific Northwest was a potential competitor with El Paso in the California market (even though it then had no pipeline connection with California), the merger violated the Clayton Anti-Trust Act.

The management of El Paso was never able to understand the court's reasoning, for, since the date of the court's first decision, ther pipeline companies have moved to the California area to provide El Paso with much competition for that particular market. Moreover, the gas consumers of the Pacific Northwest area have manifestly benefited by having a more plentiful gas supply than they had before the merger took place.

It is not the anti-trust reasoning, however, that is now troubling El Paso; it is the fact that the Supreme Court has let El Paso's attempt to divest itself of the Pacific Northwest Pipeline properties hang in limbo ever since 1964. Altogether, the El Paso case has been before the Supreme Court four times in a decade.

Twice the Supreme Court refused to let the pro-merger decisions of a lower court stand. Then, when the El Paso Co. had worked out a divestiture plan that met with the approval of both the Department of Justice and a lower court, the Supreme Court reversed the district court decision and ordered a new trial and a new plan of divestiture.

Back went the case to the lower court, where a new trial judge ruled that Colorado Interstate Corp. was the best qualified to acquire El Paso's Northwest pipelines. But the Supreme Court intervened once more, ordering still another trial.

The legal rights and wrongs of all this are enough to confound any layman. But the point is that the Supreme Court has yet to listen to an El Paso lawyer present the company's own case. "A day in court is all that we are asking," says a company spokesman.

Justice Harlan has said of the court's refusal to give due process to a major pipeline company that "all semblance of judicial procedure has been discarded in the headstrong effort to reach a result that four members of this court believe desirable." Common criminals, it seems, have made out better with the court than American businessmen who have been trying to obey the law.

(Copyright 1969, King Features Synd.)

No Offense Intended

By MORRIE RYSKIND

A reader chides me for using the term "Wasp," the acronym for white, Anglo-Saxon Protestant. He thinks it offensive and notes I say Catholic, Jew and Negro, which have none of the opprobrium he feels attaches to Wasp.

Certainly no offense is intended. I hate to pull that hoary chestnut about some of my best friends being Wasps, but it is true. And all of them accept the word without affront, even though it may have been coined as a slur by some militant member of a minority. It is now part of the language.

Journalistically, it is sound shorthand for a cumbersome phrase and a welcome boon to a columnist who has sadly learned that any piece over 720 words will be cut ruthlessly by some heartless editor to meet space requirements.

I now do the cutting and suturing myself rather than entrust it to such butchers. Which is why I often use "i.e." for "that is," and shorten professor to "prof." My first draft usually runs to some 800 words of what I deem flawlessly logical and beautifully constructed prose that would grace any collection of English essays.

It is with a sob for literature's loss that I realize this work of art must have 80 deathless words cut out to please barbarians who would have made Van Gogh trim his sunflowers to fit their space. But I steel myself and excise a trenchant word here and a happily alliterative phrase there. At times, feeling every bit a murderer, I've even eliminated an entire paragraph glowing with pungent epigrams.

And that, sir, is why I use "Wasp."

This is the first complaint on that particular usage, though there have been many others where I likewise unintentionally offended some who, I fear, were equally supersensitive.

E.g., some years ago I used "pharisaical" in its accepted sense of overbearing self-righteousness. Came a highly indignant note from a rabbi asking how a Jew could indulge in anti-Semitism. The Pharisees, he would have me know, were one of Jewry's most enlightened sects, with a spotless record of having done well by God and man. To slur them was unconscionable.

The rabbi obviously knew more about the group than I did, but I had intended no slur. The adjective in its everyday usage described an attitude, not a creed. I looked the word up and found it went back at least as far as Bacon (no cracks, please!) and doubted that all the writers who had employed it for 400 years were casting aspersions on Jewry.

Indeed, many of our current phrases lost their original connotations long ago. "Hoist by his own petard," for example, is a figure of speech which raises no eyebrows—but scholars tell me it began as a far from polite reference.

I had—as all columnists did—similar trouble when Negro militancy began. I had always used "Negro" or "colored," but was suddenly flooded by letters saying, "Negro is a word the slave-owners gave us. We'll thank you to call us what we are, Afro-Americans."

But it wasn't long before even that changed. "Look, whitey, we're blacks—and proud of it. Black is beautiful."

I give up. And I shall continue to use Wasp, Negro, colored and pharisaical as sound English words that everyone understands and should—with no offense intended.

For some reason, all this recalls a true story about W. C. Fields, who was having an argument—not unusual for Fields—with two executives at Universal, and so refused to report for a picture he was scheduled to make there.

"I'm through with those two so-and-sos," he told a friend. "It proves what I've always said—you can't do business with Jews."

"It so happens," said his friend caustically, "that both those men are devout Catholics."

"So what?" answered Fields. "Everyone knows Catholics are the worst kind of Jews there are!"

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Despite Bettering LBJ's

Nixon's 'Consumerism' Plan Still Has Flaws

From the Chicago *Tribune*

"Consumer protection" is a popular fad among politicians who haven't been able to give consumers the protection they really need—against rising prices—but still want to look as if they were doing something. The program recently outlined to Congress by President Nixon contains the illusions and dangers which are inherent in any such federal venture.

But first we must point out, in all fairness, that Nixon consumerism looks better than Johnson consumerism. Johnson consumerism was predicated on the notion that businessmen in genral are out to cheat the consumer and that the consumer needs protection against his own poor judgment as well. Hence the ineffectual efforts to tell manufacturers how to market their products, including what size containers to use.

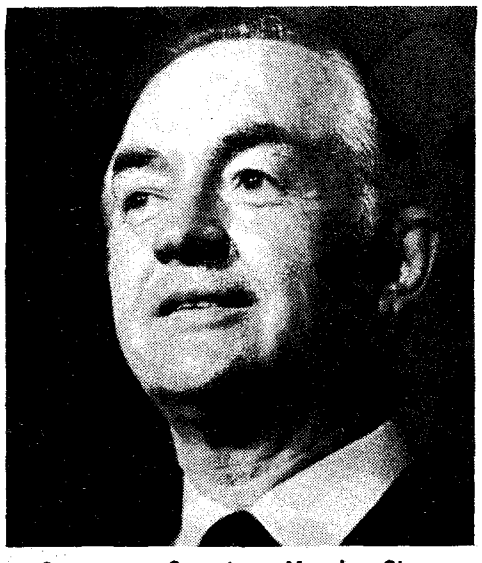
Mr. Nixon's secretary of commerce, Mr. Stans, warned last month that this "wave of consumerism" can "destroy freedom of choice." His attitude may help to explain why the Nixon consumerism is directed less toward controls and more toward the redress of actual grievances.

Mr. Nixon proposes a new law authorizing the Justice Department to prosecute companies accused of fraud or deception and, once a company is found guilty, enabling consumers to sue for redress in federal courts, either individually or in groups. He would establish federal standards for private testing laboratories and greatly expand the activities of the Federal Trade Commission.

It is true, as Mr. Nixon says, that state laws are often inadequate or too cumbersome to use against petty chiselers and purveyors of shoddy goods. One need only read our "Action Express" column to see the complaints of consumers who have been victims of this sort of thing.

But it is also true that the chiselers represent a small minority of businessmen. Reputable companies can't afford to hurt their good name, and fly-by-night companies would probably have flown by the time the federal bureaucracy got after them.

The good that a new federal program would do, therefore, must be weighed against the dangers of increasing federal power. Where there are abuses, would the burden of guilt fall entirely on the manufacturer without reference to the policies of some labor unions which also contribute to poor workmanship and a lack of responsibility? Would government standards for judging products lead to government-approved lists of products? Would the new laws be abused as the anti-trust laws have been? Would they simply give the government a new weapon to use against industry in wholly irrelevant matters such as the controversy over steel prices?



Commerce Secretary Maurice Stans has spoken out against excessive government control of consumer problems.

Alas, these things tend to happen when Big Brother is at the controls. Before transferring more power to Washington, Mr. Nixon ought to give his own "new federalism" a chance and see if the existing state and local laws can't be adapted to meet the need.

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Reply to a Viet Nam Critic

By ALICE WIDENER

Miss Judy Prakken
School Teacher
Denver, Colorado

Dear Miss Prakken:

Doubtless you are aware that President Harry Truman said about public criticism, "If you can't stand the heat, get out of the kitchen." You turned the heat on me in a fiery, handwritten letter sent in care of the Denver *Post* about my column on Sam Brown, national coordinator of the October 15 Moratorium. I said he favors a Viet Cong victory in Viet Nam.

You say, "Correct. Who are the VC? They are South Vietnamese. Who are we supposedly protecting? The South Vietnamese. It is their country, not ours. What do we say they have to do with their country? We tell them (the all-knowing, all-power great White gods of the U.S.A.) that they must be controlled instead by a corrupt military dictatorship.

Thieu! It is no secret that he has sentenced men to years of hard labor because they spoke out in favor of ending the war. Who has been the greatest stumbling block to negotiations? Thieu. He will not not [sic] sit down with the primary opposition—the VC. They are South Vietnamese! They have a legitamite [sic] reason for deciding the fate of their country. How can you, Alice, set yourself up and say that these people should bend to a military dictatorship, rather than have the Communist regime they desire?"

The foregoing has the full blast of the heat you turned on me, with not a spark doused. Though you yourself signed "school teacher" after your name, let us ignore your parenthetical phrase related to the wrong pronoun (I'm sure you meant that we Americans, not "them" are "all-power great White gods"), let us ignore your double negative and misspelling, and discuss some of your sweeping erroneous assertions, for they are of the kind that reflect the homegrown intellectual confusion which is the greatest stumbling block to an honorable peace in Viet Nam.

You claim the Vietnamese people desire a Communist regime.

How do you know? Why did two million Vietnamese "vote with their feet" when Ho Chi Minh set up a Red regime in Hanoi and flee south to freedom? Do you know that as its very first act in North Viet Nam, the Communist regime slaughtered thousands upon thousands of Vietnamese who did not want a Communist regime in their country?

You brand the elected Thieu government of South Viet Nam as a "military dictatorship." How do you characterize the Communist regime in Hanoi? If it had not exerted military force to stay in power, how long do you think the Red clique in Hanoi would have remained in office?

You speak of President Thieu's "corrupt" government. Are you really against all corruption wherever you find it, or only against non-Communist corruption? By any chance, did you read in *U.S. News & World Report* all about the immense sums of money the Soviet, Red Chinese and other Communist leaders have stashed away in secret Swiss bank accounts?

Don't you know it is a Communist propaganda technique to describe every non-Communist government on earth as "corrupt"?

No, I suppose you don't know. Or if you do, you don't want to admit it. And so you and others like you in our nation, alas, are the real stumbling blocks to peace in Viet Nam. You are not supporting President Nixon's genuine efforts to bring about honorable negotiations between our enemy and us, and a real peace. You and Sam Brown, free Americans, are for the enemy.

Very truly yours,
Alice Widener

P.S. If you can't stand the heat of this reply, I couldn't care less.

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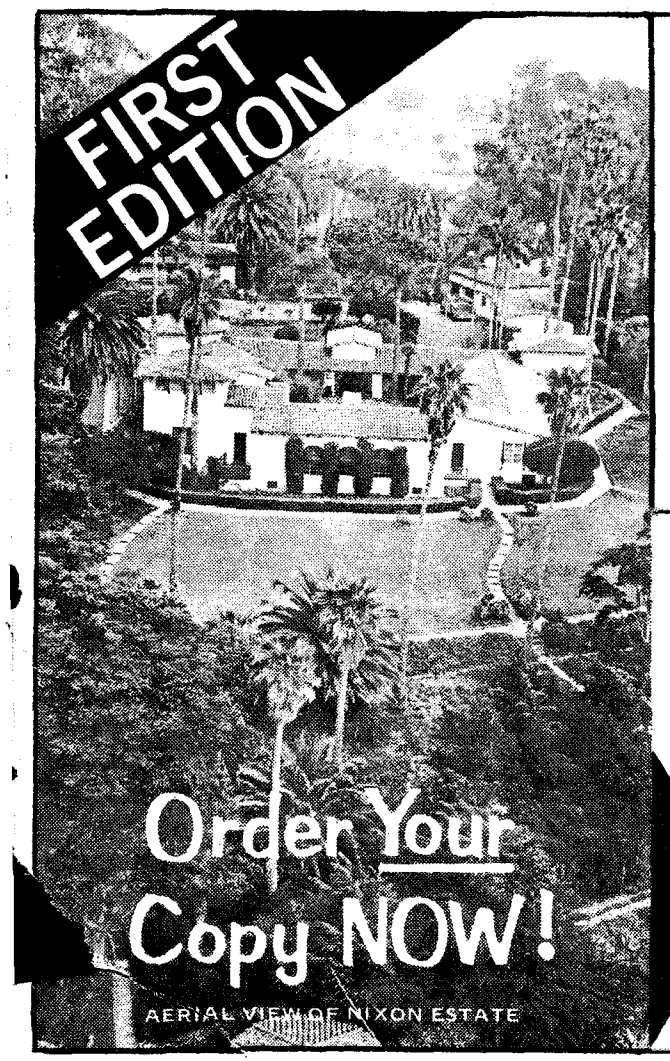

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Okinawa Pact Could Puncture Pacific Defense; Sterling Tucker Hits Black Leaders on Crime

From the Allen-Goldsmith Report

Some Pentagon planners, in and out of uniform, are privately apprehensive about the visit to Washington later this month of Japanese Premier Eisaku Sato.

The cause of their concern is Okinawa, the big island in the Ryukyus which was taken by U.S. forces in 1945 at a cost of 12,500 American lives. They are afraid that Sato will depart, after talks here with President Nixon, taking an Okinawa commitment which will impede collective security operations in the Far East.

For the most part, these officials are reconciled to the idea that control of Okinawa will be permitted to revert to Japan. In the rough-and-tumble of Japanese politics, Sato has staked his political life on such a reversion, possibly by 1972.

Vital, in the minds of these defense-oriented officials, however, are the terms under which Okinawa, now the site of more than 100 U.S. military facilities, will be returned to Japanese control. These terms are still unsettled pending the Nixon-Sato meeting.

In talks to date, the Japanese have asked that U.S. bases on Okinawa be subject to the same restrictions which were applied by a 1960 mutual security treaty to U.S. bases on the Japanese mainland. Those restrictions require prior consultation with Japan on the equipping and use of the U.S. installations.

Many military men think that would give Japan a veto over use of the facilities on Okinawa. They think such a veto would seriously hamper U.S. forces in efforts aimed at maintaining the security of the area—including the security of Japan, for which the United States is now responsible by treaty.

Broad circulation has been given here in Washington to a five-page memorandum, officially unattributed as to source, but known to have been prepared in the Pentagon. It describes Okinawa as "the central link and key element in the U.S. Western Pacific defense perimeter."

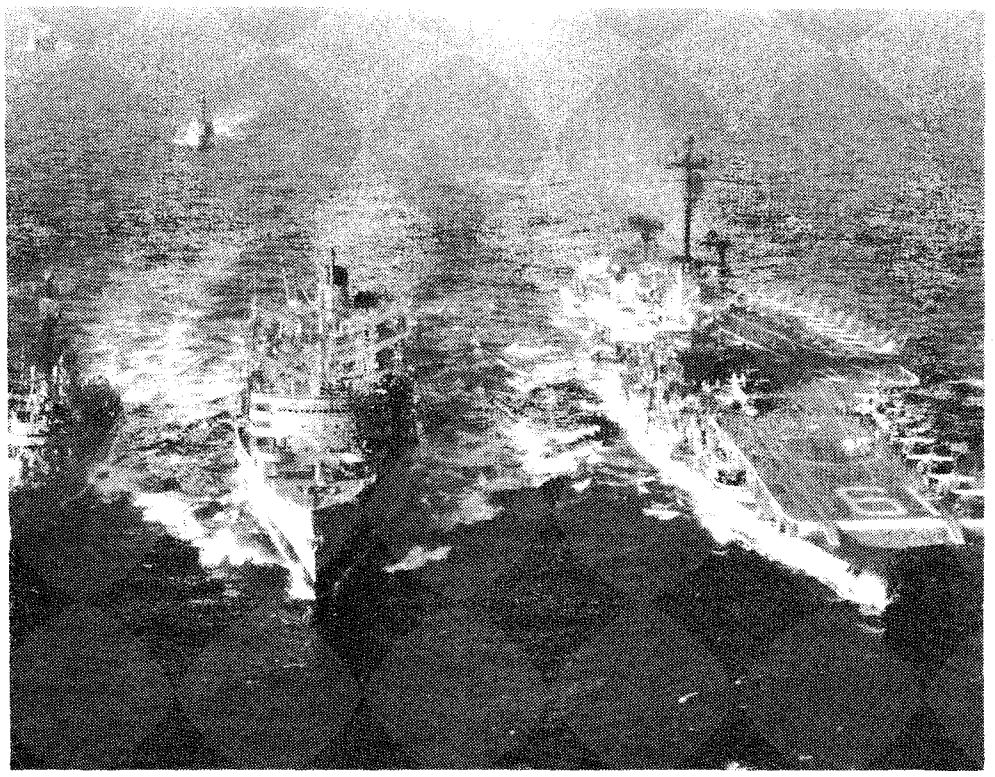
The memo asserts that "most" Okinawans today consider themselves Japanese. It calls reversion of the island to Japan "inevitable." It cautions that "agitation" for Okinawa's return could cause a political crisis in Japan.

"The negotiations leading to reversion must be conducted in an atmosphere removed from threats of the fall of the Sato government and Japanese leftist-inspired agitations and demonstrations so as to permit a statesmanlike compromise on an issue which at the moment appears to be irreconcilable," the memo says.

It explains that "all opposition parties in Japan and Okinawa have taken the position that the sanctioning of the free use of the bases—including their nuclear potential—would, after reversion, be too high a price to pay for the return of the islands."

In that connection, the memo notes that Japan's World War II experience has left a deep pacifism and an antipathy to all things military—particularly nuclear weapons. It says no Japanese government could ignore those sentiments.

As against these political considerations in Japan, the Pentagon memo asserts that "Okinawa's strategic geographic location makes it virtually impossible to replace."



Upon Okinawan bases depend not only much of the logistics behind the Viet Nam war, but the entire U.S. strategic position in the Pacific area.

"None of its functions—nearby staging base, logistics and administrative base, vital communications and surveillance link and visible indication of our power to deter—can be duplicated by relocation to other installations in the Pacific.

"No other routing of communications in the Pacific will give us the reliability now achieved by the Okinawan linkage, nor can the interlocking radar coverage provided by our facilities on Okinawa be duplicated at fall-back locations.

"The critical reaction time, area of coverage, relative security, and present invulnerability to foreign political control can neither be matched nor duplicated by relocation to any other base or combination of bases in the Pacific," the memo declares.

It notes that the United States made multi-billion-dollar investments in the Okinawa facilities on the basis that their use would be unrestricted. It states that U.S. spokesmen, including President Johnson in 1967, have always said that reversion must be conditioned on the availability of "effective" U.S. bases.

It concludes that: "The extent to which the United States could fulfill its military commitments to Japan, Taiwan, Korea, the countries of the Southeast Asia Treaty, the Philippines, Australia, New Zealand, plus the protocol states of Laos and Viet Nam, after having been denied the use of bases on Okinawa is highly debatable, particularly if we must attempt to do so from a fall-back position."

★ ★ ★

One outstanding Negro leader has finally had the fortitude and integrity to publicly denounce the steadily soaring black crime rate and the failure of black leaders to forthrightly condemn it.

This remarkable censure comes from Sterling Tucker, vice chairman of the Washington City Council, Democratic national committeeman of the District of Columbia, and minister of the 19th Street Baptist Church.

Citing the dire fact that the capital now "ranks among the highest in crime in the nation," Tucker bluntly declared the time has come for black leaders to speak out clearly and forcefully. Their continued failure to do so, he asserted, "lays an intolerable burden on the black man himself."

It is not enough, Tucker held, to place the blame on social, economic and other conditions. The validity of these charges is unquestionable. But they still are not the whole story.

"We know and we agree," said Tucker, "that in the last analysis at the root of crime are the desperate conditions of the ghetto, and all the vicious forces that push the poor urban blacks outside of society. But while I am deeply disturbed about the conditions that perpetuate the ghetto and foster crime, there is something else that also disturbs me.

"What disturbs me is the failure of black leadership to speak out against crime itself. I do not hear their voices raised against the robbery and burglary and rape that is perpetrated on our people, against the gun-toting that turns our streets into alleys of fear. The statistics rise, but they maintain an aloof silence. And it disturbs me because their silence most damages the black community itself."

Tucker conceded this silence is understandable, as black leaders have been concentrating on "society's crimes against our people, the tragic injustices of our system, and on the attitudes and vicious practices of a fascist white majority that have kept our people so long in poverty and despair."

But while castigating police brutality and bigotry, he continued, "Our attention has been diverted from crime itself." Attacking and forcing changes in the system is good, but disregarding the growing menace of black crime is "not so good."

This silence by black leaders, Reverend Tucker maintained, "encourages certain assumptions that are degrading and dangerous."

"It tends to encourage the assumption," he contended, "that crime is only a function of poverty and injustice. It tends to justify the crime rate in terms of the cost of living. Bleeding hearts, both black and white, say in so many words, 'You steal because you're poor. You're not responsible for your poverty, therefore you are not *really responsible for your crimes.*'

"This attitude is highly injurious, not only to society but most particularly to the recipient of all this commiseration and sympathy, the black man himself. It is degrading, it is harmful, and it is false."

Citing how false it is, Tucker pointed to the fact that crime in Washington "not only is higher than in most cities, but is growing faster."

"Our rate of crime increase is triple the national average," he pointed out. "Statistics for the first six months of this year show robberies in the District were up 46 per cent, rape up 50 per cent, and other crimes also were far above those of last year."

It is also false, Tucker asserted, "because those who steal are not those who are trying to make ends meet." That is one of the worst fallacies of all.

"Those who steal," he said, "are not those who are tyring to meet the monthly rent bill, the gas bill and all the other bills. They are not those who are trying to feed their children and clothe them. Those who are doing that, those who are really fighting the cost of living, are not the ones who steal and rape and murder."

For that reason, the outspoken Negro leader declared, "We must not let the

Sterling Tucker, vice chairman of the Washington, D.C., city council and a onetime radical himself, notes that black spokesmen have not come down hard enough on the crime issue.

injustices of society, cruel as they are, muffle our alarm over crime."

"We must speak out," he insisted. "The burden of being black is bad enough. The burden of being poor is bad enough. What we certainly do not need is the additional burden of being told, 'You steal because you are poor.' What we do not need is to condone and tacitly support the assumption that we are not morally responsible."

Black people and their leaders are morally responsible for the widespread prevalence of crime among them, and the time has come when they must speak out and do something constructively about it.

"We do not need this erosion of our dignity," Tucker said. "We must not let society hang this on us."

So far these extraordinary pronouncements have drawn no response from the many other Negro leaders in Washington. They have been greeted with the same tight-lipped silence that Tucker so scathingly condemns on the grievous issue of black crime.

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What Arab Terrorists Fear

By RALPH de TOLEDANO

Recent events in the Middle East are not calculated to bring joy to the Arab leaders who are working night and day for the renewal of all-out hostilities against Israel. This does not mean there has been an improvement in the situation, but merely that the Arab aggressors have lost ground. For the benefit of those readers who have taken to writing me violent anti-Jewish screeds or to calling me a tool of the Jewish bankers, let me elucidate.

1. In violation of international law, and following a practice which even Castro Cuba does not follow, Syria released the two sky pirates who hijacked a TWA plane, but continues to hold two Israeli passengers. For this, Syria was rewarded by the United Nations with a seat in the Security Council. This was testimony enough of the casual view that the U.N. takes of its own charter and of its responsibilities as an advocate of world law.

Now, however, Syria has threatened the peace by sending its troops into Lebanon and encouraging a revolt against the Lebanese government by so-called Palestinian guerrillas who want to use that country as a base for further attacks on Israel. There has, however, been no outcry in the U.N. against Syria, nor has there been any attempt to haul her before world public opinion, for these violations of the peace. The effect, however, has been noted, and the Arab cause has suffered thereby. Obviously, there is no unanimity among the Arab peoples, and it has become clear that the assaults on Israel are merely the product of a conspiracy among the dictators in the Arab world.

2. The election in Jerusalem. Ever since the Six-Day War, Arab terrorists have vowed to visit death or some of the more macabre desert tortures on any Arab in territories once seized by Jordan but now held by Israel who cooperated in any way with the Israeli authorities. When Jerusalem was formally incorporated into Israel, Arabs in the Old City—men and women over age 18—were given the vote. (Under Jordan, only property-holding males had the franchise.)

Before the election on October 28, the terrorists repeated their threats.

When the polls opened, however, there were crowds of Arab youths, women, and the more mature males waiting to cast their ballots—and by the end of the day, the first incomplete count showed that 9,000 of them had braved the wrath of the terrorists to vote. Another 1,500 Arabs were unable to vote because they were not properly registered.

This means that more than one-fourth of all Arabs eligible to vote in Jerusalem were ready to accept Israeli hegemony over the city—an astonishing percentage when the absence of any democratic or voting tradition among them is taken into account.

Had Bethlehem been placed within Jerusalem's city limits—as many Christian Arabs have urged—the turnout would have been proportionately much greater. Christian Arabs predominate in Bethlehem, and they were very unhappy under the Jordanian occupation. Their Moslem rulers discriminated against them on religious grounds, and many Christian Arabs said to me last March that if Bethlehem were returned to Jordan they would move into Israel.

Point 2 indicates what any objective observer in Israel will corroborate—namely, that those Arabs who remained after the 1948 war have been well treated, have been granted all citizenship rights with the exception of being subject to military duty, and do not oppose the Israeli government or people. Their standard of living is immeasurably higher than that of their cousins in the Arab world, and they have no desire to return to the nomadic and poverty-stricken life which was formerly theirs.

This is one of the major problems of the terrorists. They get little if any support from the people they want to "liberate." If Lebanon's refusal to join in such a "liberation" leads to open war with Syria, this point will be underscored even more heavily.

Eventually those in fear of major hostilities will be forced to ask themselves, "What goes on?" And this will not help the imperial ambitions of such Arab leaders as President Nasser of Egypt. Perhaps—perhaps?—even the Soviet Union, which has been stoking Arab fires, will ask itself if its multi-billion investment in arms and other military materiel is worth it. Then, again perhaps, we shall have peace in that birthplace of religions.

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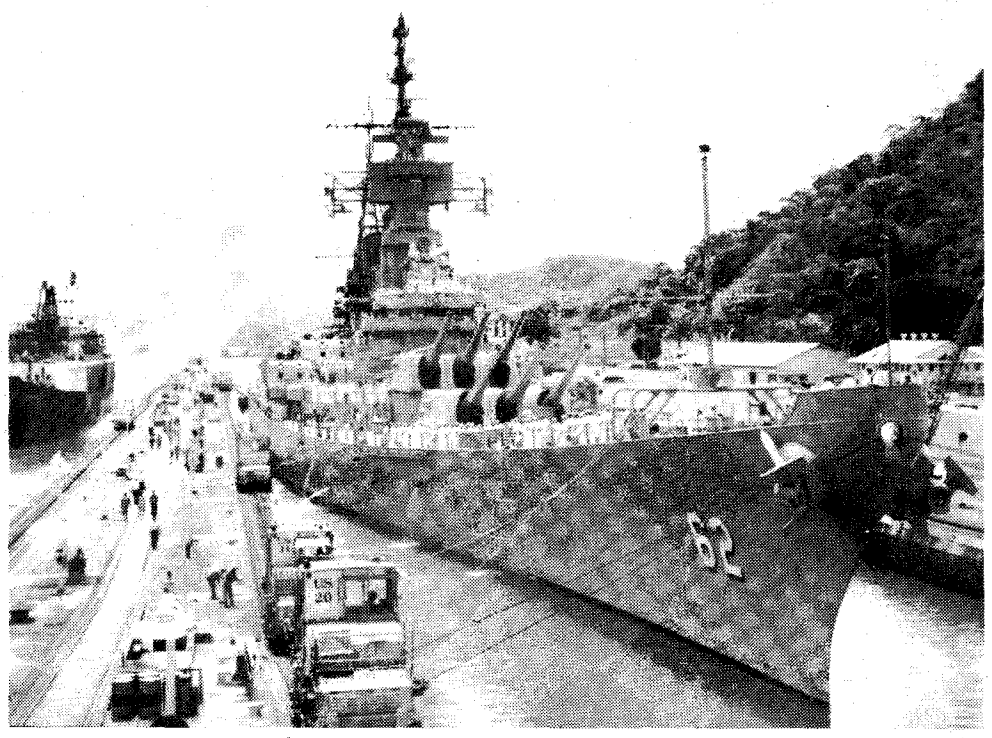

Highlighting the strategic importance of the Panama Canal is the passage of the USS New Jersey through the isthmus on its way to Viet Nam.

New Panama Treaty Talks?

By SEN. STROM THURMOND (R.-S.C.)

According to reports in the press of the Republic of Panama, it appears that the United States and the Republic of Panama may be on the verge of reopening treaty talks. I am very distressed to hear these reports, and I am sure that many congressmen would be disappointed if these reports have substance.

Two years ago the Johnson Administration negotiated three new treaties with the Republic of Panama with regard to the present Panama Canal, a proposed sea-level canal, and our military obligation to Panama.

The content of these treaties was so outrageous an uproar was set off both in the House and the Senate, since these treaties amounted to a dangerous cession of our lands and rights in the Canal Zone. In the intervening time, the situation in Panama has deteriorated.

The constitutional government of Panama has been superseded by the revolutionary junta after a tumultuous election. Although the junta succeeded in restoring order, there is grave doubt as to how long such order may be reasonably expected to persist. Indeed, one might question the value of a treaty with any kind of provisonal government.

The reopening of the Panama Canal Treaty in the present state of world affairs would be the worst possible thing for both Panama and the United States. And yet that is apparently what is being done.

According to the article in the Panama *Star & Herald*, the U.S. State Department let it be known through indirect sources that it would be receptive to a move by Panama to reactivate the negotiations. Accordingly, in September Panama appointed three advisers to their treaty team. The three advisers are well known in this country, and it is doubtful that they would come up with anything particularly new in the way of treaty proposals.

I have said many times that I believe that our best course in the Canal Zone is to stand upon our unquestioned treaty rights and the sovereignty which we have exercised there over the years. The present canal is perfectly adequate for future needs if we follow the modernization plan which I have introduced in S 2228. No new treaties are needed and we have ample authority to protect our investment and our obligation to keep the canal open.

What we do in Panama will have a profound effect upon our whole Latin American policy. In recent months we have shown a pattern of acquiescence to revolutionary trends in Latin American. It is a destructive pattern which feeds upon itself. The more we give in, the more radical elements demand. We must stand our ground in Panama to fulfill our pledge to the world to maintain a Panama Canal for the benefit of all.

If our policy is to succeed, it can do so only by changing U.S. foreign policy from one of weak acquiescence to one of strength.

Everywhere the greatest single deterrent to liberty, Soviet power, has by sheer audacity and nerve increased its dominance in Asia, Africa, South America and Europe. The Soviets are particularly interested in strategic and military key points, such as the Suez Canal and the Arab crescent of the Mediterranean, the latest example being Libya. The Panama Canal is similarly of key strategic importance.

In the course of these assualts, we have too often tamely submitted to a surrender of our treaty rights and privileges and we have lost the support and friendship of our free nation allies; and weaker nations, in complete disregard of billions of dollars of foreign aid furnished them by the United States, have come into Soviet influence. Moreover, we seem to learn nothing from the tragic experiences of the past, but continue to follow the policies of disaster that have brought the world into a state of crisis of the first magnitude.

Those of us in the Congress who oppose the surrender of our rights, power and authority over U.S.-owned Canal Zone territory and Panama Canal are in no way motivated by a feeling of hostility to Panama or its people. However, we do know that if and when our authority over the canal is liquidated, Panama would not be benefited thereby.

□□□

NOBODY'S BUSINESS—"The essential difference between the pre-war and the post-war gold standard was that the former had to work, because, if it did not do so, the banker went bankrupt. After the outbreak of war in 1914 the government—not the banker—was responsible, and what is the government's business is often nobody's business."—George Winder, *A Short History of Money*

You Probably Deal With Mafia

By PAUL HARVEY

Virgil Peterson of the Chicago Crime Commission has said that you could not survive 48 hours in Chicago without paying tribute to the underworld. The beverage you drink, hard or soft, the public washroom towel you use, the restaurant you patronize—even the coin you leave when you check your hat—all these and scores of other industries are likely to be infiltrated or controlled by mob money.

The Mafia operates out of 20 separate "headquarters" across the United States.

The Department of Justice knows of Mafia links with thousands of businesses, ranging from trucking to banking and including electronics, construction, real estate and food and health services.

Paradoxically, the federal government drove the gangsters into legitimate businesses. The underworld take from gambling, narcotics, prostitution, numbers and usurious loans totals probably $50 billion a year.

But in recent years the law has specified that anybody who spends money must be able to account for the source of that money. This law was intended to corral high-living hoodlums who paid for everything with cash and accounted to nobody.

Now if you live conspicuously beyond your admitted income, the Internal Revenue Service can cite you for tax evasion. Some gangsters have thus been taken out of circulation for awhile.

But many more of them have infiltrated bona fide businesses from which they pay themselves salaries, thus to justify their huge expenditures, often on lavish living.

You can imagine some of the advantages enjoyed by a Mafia-controlled enterprise. Desirable business deals can be sweetened with under-the-table cash. The firm is probably capitalized on untaxed money. The Mafia firm seldom has union trouble, while its competitors may have much more than their share.

A Mafia enterprise will likely get bargain rates from a Mafia-controlled trucking firm.

And the Mafia is able to resort to strong-arm tactics to accomplish business objectives. Queens, N.Y., Dist. Atty. Thomas Mackell says he believes the murder of two A&P store managers and the firebombing of 16 A&P stores and warehouses resulted from the refusal of that company to buy a Mafia detergent.

Atty. Gen. John Mitchell believes that antitrust laws might be used to break up Mafia firms which stifle competition.

Simultaneously, Treasury agents are subjecting city officials—and judges who may have received Mafia money—to closer scrutiny.

So, federal authorities are not unmindful of the menace and they have a full-speed go-ahead from the White House which is likely to show some very impressive results before long.

Under this Administration, as under none previously, task forces are co-ordinating the efforts of the FBI, the Treasury, Narcotics and Immigration authorities—attacking the Black Hand's many fingers.

Government agencies are closing ranks as never before; the first best hope that good guys may win this war.

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SPOTLIGHT ON CONGRESS

Mobe's Pumpkins

By REP. LAWRENCE WILLIAMS (R.-Pa.)

What, indeed, could be more ironic than the effort by the self-styled National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Viet Nam (MOBE) to corrupt Halloween with the outfit's silly request that Americans display pumpkins carved with the international symbol of "peace." Surely this oddball group, using this as another effort to popularize their propaganda for still another "March on Washington" on November 15, could not have forgotten that it was Richard Nixon, as a freshman member of Congress, who played a major role in discovering what might well be defined as the original "pumpkins for peace."

It was under the direction of then Rep. Richard Nixon, as a member of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, that two committee investigators, Donald Appell and William Wheeler, made that historic trip from Washington to the Maryland farm of reformed Communist Whittaker Chambers to find, inside a hollow pumpkin, microfilmed documents which supported Chambers' sworn testimony that Alger Hiss, brilliant darling of the State Department, had been a Soviet agent against this nation which had so trusted him.

Place for SDS

By REP. TOM MESKILL (R.-Conn.)

We have all seen enough of the tactics of Students for a Democratic Society. These individuals don't belong in industry. They don't belong on campus. They are lawbreakers and they belong in jail.

Liberals and McNamara's Waste

By SEN. BARRY GOLDWATER

Serving in the United States Senate is a fascinating experience these days for an old-line conservative.

The chamber rings almost daily to arguments for economy in government, reduction of our international obligations and similar themes, arguments most often associated with Republicans of a traditional and conservative bent.

But they are now being voiced by some of the very men who led the liberal drive to expand federal spending and to squander billions of dollars of the taxpayers' money on such international projects as economic foreign aid.

For example, we find Chairman J. William Fulbright of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee arguing for a massive reduction in federal spending and a policy which comes very close to that attitude of isolationism that he used to oppose so bitterly.

We find such liberals as Senators William Proxmire (D.-Wis.), Albert Gore (D.-Tenn.) and George McGovern (D.-S.D.) giving voice to strong arguments for reduction of billions of dollars in the level of federal expenditures.

Believe it or not, Senate conservatives have to shake their heads to make sure they are awake when some of these formerly free-spending liberals begin to weep for the hard-pressed American taxpayer.

To hear some of the speeches being made today by liberal Democrats, you would think that their party and their philosophy of government had nothing to do with the 30-year record of federal extravagance and boondoggling.

It is true that most of the concern for federal extravagance is directed at the nation's defense expenditures. This was a major argument used by the Senate liberals in their efforts to defeat President Nixon's proposal for the Safeguard ABM system. Even though it is designed to protect 200 million Americans, the liberals argued that it would be an unwise expenditure which might upset the Soviets. And the same argument is being raised in connection with almost every other proposal sent to Capitol Hill by the Department of Defense.

While it is true that armaments have always been something of a target for liberals since the end of World War II, the liberal-sponsored assault did not materialize while former Defense Secretary Robert McNamara was increasing our defense expenditures from $40 billion to $80 billion a year.

One of the reasons was that McNamara was a liberal and gave lip service to many of this group's pet projects in the field of social welfare. He repeatedly gave indications that he would use the huge power of the Pentagon on behalf of some of these particular projects.

There is also the fact that McNamara had working for him perhaps the most powerful and effective public relations organization ever perfected with the taxpayers' money.

He repeatedly reassured the Senate liberals that he was placing the entire defense establishment on a businesslike program of "cost-effectiveness."

Even while he was engaged in the tremendous extravagance and waste involved in the ill-fated TFX (now the F-111) fighter-bomber controversy, he was able to convince the Senate liberals that he was perhaps the greatest exponent of government economy ever to arrive on the Washington scene.

It will be recalled that scarcely a month went by that McNamara was not appearing with his charts and pointer at a press conference called to announce what he termed "savings" in our defense costs.

Ironically, most of the waste, inefficiency and cost overruns today's liberals are exposing occurred during the McNamara regime in the Pentagon. However, it is seldom that any liberal acknowledges these excesses as McNamara's responsibility. In fact, it is never done unless somebody like Sen. Proxmire is deliberately pinned down on this point.

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Legislative Boxscore

The following is a round-up of items of particular interest to Human Events readers:

• President Nixon has put Congress on notice that if it does not take action quickly on **11 pending appropriations bills** he may not be able to have a fiscal 1971 budget prepared by next January. Since the end of fiscal year 1969 last July 1, most federal agencies have been operating on month-to-month continuing appropriations and, said Nixon in a letter to House and Senate leaders, "the situation is fast becoming intolerable." The bills to which Nixon referred appropriate operating funds for fiscal 1970 (through next June 30) to over 20 government departments, agencies and independent offices; most of the pending bills have yet to be reported out of committee. House Minority Leader Gerald Ford (R.-Mich.) describes the impasse as a "fiscal crisis. . .probably the worst in the history of Congress."

• The Senate Finance Committee has finally completed its revisions of the House-passed **Tax Reform Act of 1969** (HR 13270). In one major alteration, the Senate unit adopted a 5 per cent minimum income tax on all untaxed income over $30,000, except income from state and local bond interest. The House had adopted the Administration's proposal for a 50 per cent maximum on an individual's nontaxable income. In another area, the Senate Finance Committee placed the oil depletion allowance rate at 23 per cent; the House had lowered this to 20 per cent from its present 27½ per cent.

• Everyone who has ever had a run-in with a credit bureau of some sort will be interested in the **Fair Credit Reporting Act** (S 823), reported last week by the Senate Banking and Currency Committee. Under this bill, which was introduced by Sen. William Proxmire (D.-Wis.), credit agencies must disclose, at the request of any individual, all information it has on file concerning that person, the source of most of this information, and names of parties to whom this information has been given. Also, when anyone wants to investigate you for credit reasons, he must inform you and tell you the nature and scope of the check-up.

• Education and research on dangerous drugs—which just about everybody agrees is sorely lacking—is finally getting some action. The House Education and Labor Committee has reported a bill (HR 14252) authorizing $29 million over a three-year period for federal grants to subsidize **drug abuse education.** The grants, supervised by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, will be used by educational institutions, as well as public and private organizations, to collect and disseminate information on the dangers of drug-taking.

• The House Foreign Affairs Committee has chopped the **Administration's foreign aid request** from $2.58 billion down to $2.19 billion and ordered the fiscal 1970 foreign economic and military assistance bill (HR 14580) reported. The committee's bill, which would represent the lowest foreign aid appropriation in the program's 21-year history, authorizes $1.79 billion in economic assistance and $400 million in military aid. One area in which the White House did reasonably well was technical assistance, which President Nixon had stressed in his aid message. The committee cut only $40.5 million from the Administration's requested $463 million and granted a two-year authorization in this program, as opposed to the one-year limit on most other aid projects.

• The perennial subject of **congressional reform** is again on the griddle, with a House Rules Special subcommittee now holding hearings on a far-reaching bill. Essentially, the House measure would leave the present seniority system untouched, but would greatly strengthen the position of minority party members. It would give the ranking minority member of a committee the power to call meetings if the committee chairman refused, and minority members of all standing committees would also be given two additional staff members. Other provisions of the House bill would permit the televising or radio broadcasting of House sessions and committee meetings, would make the fiscal year the same as the calendar year and would eliminate the 25-cent charge for Capitol tours.

• Sen. Sam Ervin's Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Separation of Powers has opened investigative hearings into **the Administration's controversial "Philadelphia Plan"** (see Human Events, July 26, 1969). Under this plan, begun in the city of Philadelphia, the Labor Department requires that federal contractors make every effort possible to hire a specific number of minority-group employes on federal construction projects. Shortly before the plan first went into effect last September, Comptroller General Elmer Staats ruled that it violated the 1964 Civil Rights Act's provision banning establishment of any form of employment "quotas"; Atty. Gen. John Mitchell denied this infraction and gave the go-ahead. Sen. Ervin (D.-N.C.) plans to look into all aspects of the plan to see if it violates the intent of Congress in passing the '64 legislation. No immediate new legislation is involved.

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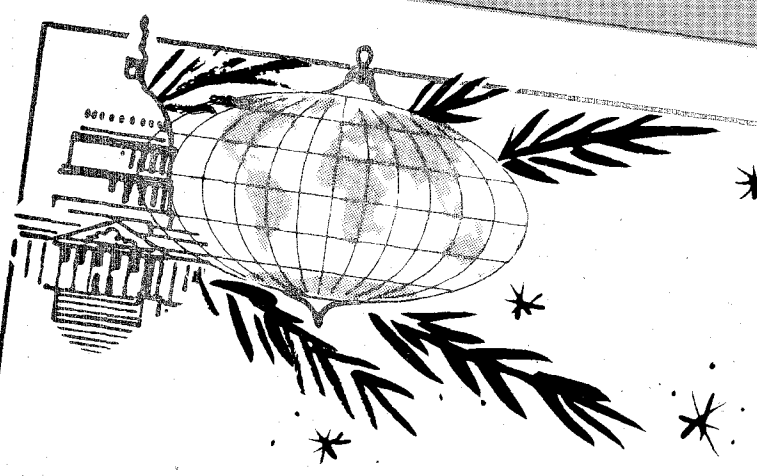

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